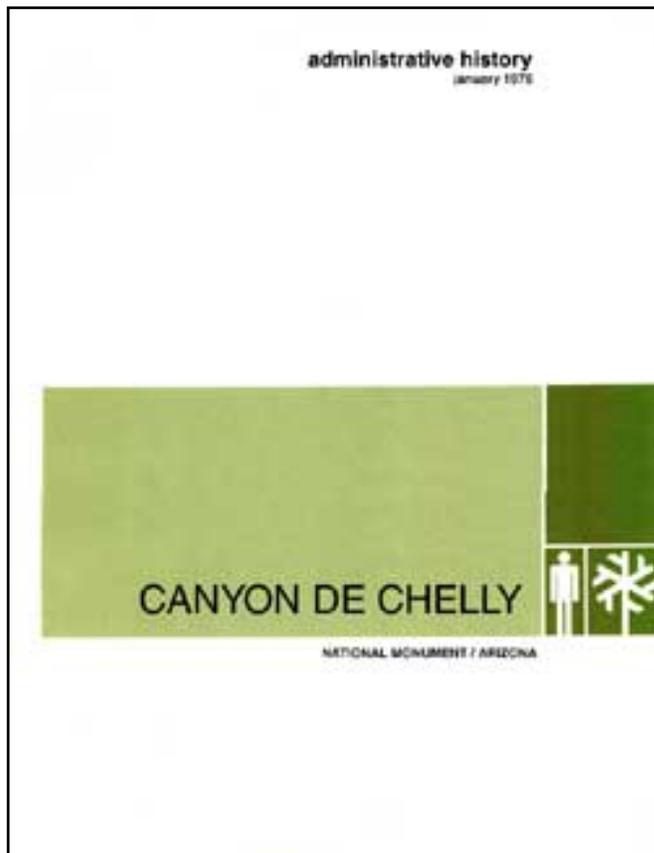


# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## **ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY: CANYON DE CHELLY NATIONAL MONUMENT ARIZONA**

by  
**David M. Brugge  
Raymond Wilson**

**January 1976**

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

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ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY  
CANYON DE CHELLY NATIONAL MONUMENT  
ARIZONA



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RECOMMENDED: Superintendent, Canyon de Chelly

APPROVED: General Superintendent, Navajo Lands Group

This administrative history is a pilot document, based largely on research of an archival nature, whereas the area itself has a history based primarily on verbal understandings. Consequently, additional input can be expected that may alter the report. To facilitate the collection of such information, a single depository will be maintained at the library at the Canyon de Chelly National Monument headquarters. Submissions should be sent to that location, identified as to source, date, etc.

United States Department of the Interior / National Park Service NPS 577

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# Canyon de Chelly

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## PREFACE

The need for an administrative history of Canyon de Chelly National Monument has been recognized for several years. As early as Meredith Guillet's first incumbency as superintendent in the 1940s, if not before, sporadic work was done to compile materials that could be used for this purpose. The unique character of this monument, which remains in the ownership of the Navajo Nation while park matters are administered by the National Park Service, has created an interrelated series of problems that have arisen as the canyon residents and the Park Service personnel work to adapt to each other's presence and to the ever-increasing stream of visitors attracted by the archeology, Indians, and exceptional scenery. The story of Navajo-Park Service relations forms a unifying theme for all the diverse events that have influenced the development of the area as a national monument.

This study originated in a new Park Service master-plan project that will attempt to gather and evaluate the viewpoints of all the peoples and agencies interested in the area. Active research did not begin until June 1974 when the senior author was able to spend 3 weeks searching for source materials in the National Archives. Further work was not possible until late summer when the junior author was employed to assist with the research and writing. Sources were scattered in several depositories and offices. The requirements of other duties limited to some degree the thoroughness with which various collections could be researched, and this work should not be considered definitive. Several of the questions raised herein may be resolved by further work in collections already utilized. The following list indicates abbreviations used in the text citations and reveals to some extent the amount of attention we were able to give the various collections.

<u>Collection</u>	<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Utilized</u>
Southwestern National Monuments Monthly Reports, Arizona Archeological Center, Tucson, Arizona	SWMR	fully
National Archives, Record Group 75, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C.	NA, RG 75, OIA	partially
National Archives, Record Group 79, NPS, National Monuments, Canyon de Chelly, Washington, D.C.	NA, RG 79, NPS C de C	fully

Canyon de Chelly National Monument files, C de C Chinle, Arizona		partially
Denver Federal Records Center, NPS, Canyon de Chelly, Denver, Colorado	DFRC	partially
Arlington Federal Records Center, NPS, Canyon de Chelly, Arlington, Virginia	AFRC	partially
National Archives, Record Group 48, Department of The Interior, Washington, D.C.	NA, RG 48, ID	slightly
Fort Defiance Letterbooks, extract copies at Navajo Tribal Research Section (originals in Bell Federal Records Center, Bell, California).	FD	slightly
Historical Files, Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Ganado, Arizona	----	partially
Vivian Archives, Chaco Center, NPS, Albuquerque, New Mexico	CA	fully
Denver Service Center, files, Denver, Colorado	DSC	slightly

Our data come primarily from the above sources. Scattered odds and ends were available in published form and a number of individuals were willing to assist us with information in short interviews. These include Dr. Edward B. Danson of the Museum of Northern Arizona; Dr. David L. De Harport of Denver, Colorado; Dr. Stephen C. Jett of the University of California at Davis; Robert W. Young of the University of New Mexico; Martin A. Link, Navajo Tribal Museum; Verner Mayes, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Dilkon, Arizona; George W. Miller and Charlie R. Steen of Santa Fe; and Sam Day III of the Navajo tribe. In addition, John A. Aubuchon, Meredith Guillet, Ora Jo Puckett, William G. Binnewies, Chauncey Neboyia, Robert L. Morris, Clarence Gorman, and Herbert Yazhe all of whom are current or former Park Service employees at Canyon de Chelly deserve special consideration.

Several Navajo residents of the area talked with the senior author, and though they added little in the way of specific data, they enabled us to gain a much better insight into their problems.

Many people supplied information through correspondence at our request, sometimes at the expense of considerable time and effort. Special recognition for assistance of this sort should go to Ora Jo Puckett, whose familiarity with the Canyon de Chelly files made our work much easier. Others deserving special mention are Carol Holleuffer, Dr. Mary Shepardson, Dr. Charlotte J. Frisbie, Marcella Sherfy, Gay Ann Mayes, and James T. Rock.

For aid in finding materials in various collections we are indebted to J. Lee Correll of the Navajo Tribal Research Section, Judy R. Reis of the Arizona Archeological Center, Maria Joy and others at the National Archives, and Linda Cochran at the Federal Records Center in Denver.

All of the people at the Chaco Center, where we did most of the compilation of data, should be mentioned for their favors great and small, from those who merely shared their space with us to Dorothy Cassidy, Alden C. Hayes, Natalie Patterson, Thomas Mathews, Delmar Petterson, and Dr. Robert C. Lister, who helped with many kinds of problems. Special commendation is extended to Dr. Richard N. Ellis of the History Department at the University of New Mexico for recommending the junior author to assist in this project.

The manuscript has been critically read by Charles Voll, Bill Jones, Linda Greene, and William Germeraad, all of whom offered valuable suggestions. The authors take full responsibility, however, for all interpretation and errors. Final typing of the manuscript was done by Barbara Hudson. Last, but not least, special thanks go to Bill Jones of the Denver Service Center, who, as head of the current master plan team, has made it all possible.

DMB  
RW  
Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1974

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## CHAPTER 1: THE EARLY YEARS TO 1919

The name Chelly, under the form Chegui, first appeared in the 1770s on maps drawn by Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco. The most readily available is his map of 1778, which has been published in color. [1] These maps show the headwaters of the Chinle Wash, erroneously depicted as draining into the Moenkopi Wash, but otherwise located in the proper relation to the Hopi villages, Zuni, and other clearly identifiable places. Surrounding the headwaters of the stream are little mesas surmounted by hoganlike structures. We do not know whether Don Bernardo ever visited the canyons (his errors suggest that he did not) or whether he relied solely upon the reports of others who had penetrated the area, perhaps as members of the poorly documented military operations during the war of 1774-75 that ended over half a century of peace between the Spaniards and Navajos. [2] In any case, the name Chelly with various spellings and used with reference to the canyon, the mountain range to the east, and nearby mesas, appears occasionally on documents from that time on. In 1786 Chelli was listed as one of the five "divisions" of the Navajo tribe, [3] while a 1796 list of ten Navajo settlements includes Chelle. [4] We do not know just how long Navajos had occupied the de Chelly area prior to these accounts nor exactly when the first Spaniards visited the area. The first mention of Spanish penetration of the canyons in extant documents is by Narbona during the war of 1804-5, [5] a campaign generally considered to have caused the Massacre Cave battle. While troops repeatedly passed the mouth of the canyons in later wars, actual entry into the canyons themselves is reported only occasionally. Many of the early Spanish and Mexican operations are so poorly documented that invasions cannot be entirely ruled out.

The first recorded Anglo-American entry into the canyons was that of the Walker expedition of 1847, which marched about 6 miles up the canyon. [6] The earliest description and illustration of the ruins appeared in Simpson's journal and Kern's drawings as a result of Washington's 1849 expedition. [7] Henry L. Dodge, accompanied by Navajo guides in 1853, was probably the first Anglo-American to traverse the full length of the canyon. [8] The earliest known license to trade at Cheye was granted in 1854 to Agustin Lacome, an itinerant trader with permission to conduct business in several localities. [9]

The first scientific expedition to enter the canyons was a part of the Hayden geological survey in the 1870s. A photographer with the survey, F. H. O'Sullivan, photographed White House in 1873 and the picture was subsequently published backwards unfortunately. [10] Scientific investigation of the ruins did not begin until the next decade. James Stevenson visited the canyons in 1882, recording 46 sites and giving Canyon del Muerto its name, using the form "Canon de los Muertos." [11] Cosmos Mindeleff continued the work the following year, increasing the number of known sites to 134 and producing a map. [12] Mindeleff's work

resulted in a detailed report. [13]

Secondary sources suggest that permanent trading at Chinle began in a tent store established about 1882 by a Spanish-American, known today only by his Navajo name of Nakai Yazhi. [14] Van Valkenburgh indicates that several other traders located at Chinle in the 1880s, but the earliest documentation found thus far dates from 1885 when C. N. Cotton bought J. L. Hubbell's interest in a post there. [15]

The earliest visit by a journalist was probably that of J. H. Beadle in 1871, who subsequently published a popular account in book form in 1873. [16] In 1890 F. F. Bickford discussed the area in a magazine article. [17] Visitation by sightseers was soon to follow, resulting in looting of the ruins and rock shelters for artifacts for private collections and for sale to museums.

The first recorded attempt by the Federal Government to protect the antiquities of the canyons was made in 1903. In April Professor Henry Mason Baum, president of the Records of the Past Exploration Society, wrote the Department of the Interior to report that he had visited Canyon de Chelly the preceding summer. He felt that the scenic values of the canyon rivaled the Grand Canyon, but was disturbed by the vandalism of the ruins by relic collectors, some of whom were digging for "commercial purposes." Because the Navajo agent was stationed too far from the ruins to give them protection, he recommended that "Mr. Day," the trader at Chinle, be appointed custodian of the ruins. [18] As a result of this communication, Charles L. Day was appointed custodian of the ruins by G. W. Hayzlett, Navajo agent at Fort Defiance. Day received an annual salary of \$120 and was vested with authority to arrest violators. [19] Despite Baum's recommendation, Charles Day may not have been the best possible choice for this position. By early fall of the same year it was reported that he and his father, Samuel Day, had collected a large amount of "plunder" from the cliff dwellings, which the elder Day sold to Stewart Culin of the Brooklyn Museum. [20] A much later report suggests that not only the Days, but Richard Wetherill as well, had removed mummies from ruins in or near the canyons. [21]

Charles Day was not relieved of his post, because the following year he was still reporting to the agent in his capacity as custodian, but he may well have been reprimanded. In any case, he began dutifully reporting finds in the canyons and, in compliance with instructions, shipping them to the U. S. National Museum. He was also engaged in guiding visitors into the canyons. [22]

The Day family sold their trading post at Chinle in 1905, moving to Cienega Amarilla, present-day St. Michaels, Arizona. [23] The position of custodian seems to have lapsed, although the Indian Service continued to exercise jurisdiction. The Antiquities Act was passed June 8, 1906 (34 Stat. L. 225). In a report on the preservation of antiquities, submitted in 1909, the Navajo agent referred specifically to the ruins of Canyon de Chelly, among others, and stated that for some time the Government farmers stationed at various points on the reservation had been designated custodians of the ruins nearby. He reported that persons who intended to "examine closely these ruins" were required to exhibit the proper permit and even "mere sightseers" had to obtain a permit from his office, at which time they were informed of the regulations protecting the ruins. He noted that there was an increase each year in the number of "tourists and curiosity seekers" who came into the area. [24]

Publicity in the form of popular accounts, such as Charles L. Lummis's "The Swallow's-Nest People," [25] undoubtedly stimulated visitation. Lummis's visit appears to have been made with guides supplied by J. L. Hubbell, who was interested in promoting the tourist trade. By 1915 his two-story trading post with accommodations for tourists was in operation at Chinle. [26]

The Indian Service found that protection of the ruins entailed problems beyond the mere regulation of visitors. By 1917 there were threats of natural erosion. [27] Peter Paquette, then agent, investigated and confirmed a report that White House was endangered by the wash. He submitted an estimate of \$1,000 for its protection. [28] There is no indication that the Indian Service was able to provide funds for this purpose, however. In 1919 Herbert W. Gleason repeated an earlier recommendation that the canyon be made a national monument, but did not identify the originator of the proposal. [29] There was apparently no immediate follow-up on the idea, and ultimately the influence of those involved in the tourist industry would be required to stimulate concerted Government action.

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## CHAPTER 2:

### THE CREATION OF THE NATIONAL MONUMENT, 1919-1931

Although the existence of Canyon de Chelly had been known by Anglo-Americans since at least 1847 and National Park Service interest in its subsequent development was long standing, it was not until after the Gleason report of 1919 that serious consideration was given to establishing it as a national monument. Four years passed with little or no action being taken. In 1923 Hunter Clarkson, who operated transportation services in the Southwest in cooperation with the Santa Fe Railway, wrote Assistant Director of the National Park Service Arno B. Cammerer concerning such a proposal. Clarkson had previously discussed that matter with National Park Service Director Stephen T. Mather. An investigation was then made by Cammerer, and findings indicated that "a high degree of erosion" was setting in at several of the archeological ruins. [1] Moreover, numerous reports were being circulated regarding vandalism and the destruction of ruins by visitors to the area. [2]

As a result, Cammerer wrote to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles H. Burke on September 17, 1924, about the possibilities of establishing a national monument there; he cited the Antiquities Act in stressing the need to protect the ruins and offered Park Service assistance if desired. [3] The Bureau of Indian Affairs requested that H. J. Hagerman, commissioner of the Navajo tribe, consult with the Navajos about the proposal. Hagerman's first reports indicated unfavorable reactions from the Indians and traders. "The Canon de Chelly and the contiguous canons appear to be," wrote Hagerman, "looked upon by the Indians more or less as sacred ground. . . ." Trader resistance appeared to be due to fear of the loss of their "special or privileged position." [4] It was decided to drop the matter until the Navajo Tribal Council met at the Charles H. Burke School at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, on July 7-8, 1925. [5]

It was not until the second day of the council that the topic of Canyon de Chelly came up. Hagerman addressed the group, stating that the Government wanted to establish a national monument there "in order to preserve the ruins and to prevent deprecations from tourists and outside people, and at the same time permitting it to be visited. . . . He compared it to other national monuments, such as Inscription Rock, and declared that

in no way would it interfere with the grazing rights of the Indians or other residents there, but rather would protect them in their rights. The title would not be taken away in any way from the Indians or their treaty rights interfered with, but it would be merely set aside and protected as a monument a national park so that the ruins would be preserved and outsiders would be prevented from going in and looting the ruins.

The chairman of the council, Henry Chee Dodge, inquired if the Government would have someone stationed there, if visitors would be charged, and if the Government would put in new roads. Hagerman assured the Indians that the Government man and roads would not infringe on Indian rights and that visitors would probably not be charged. [6]

After fully discussing the matter, the tribal council unanimously agreed to accept the establishment of a national monument at Canyon de Chelly "providing the grazing and other rights of the Indians are in no way interfered with." Moreover, the Indians around Chinle wanted the exclusive right to furnish horses for tourists. In addition they stipulated that should a road be built to the monument, no tribal funds would be expended for that purpose or for any other park purpose. [7] On July 11 Hagerman reported these results to his superiors in Washington. [8]

Both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the National Park Service viewed the tribal council vote with enthusiasm. Letters exchanged by the two governmental agencies indicated their desire to aid each other in any way possible. [9]

Shortly afterwards, the National Park Service prepared a draft for a Presidential proclamation and submitted it to Hagerman. [10] Commissioner Burke advised Hagerman to read it over and then submit it to the tribal council for their approval. [11] Hagerman reported that the boundary question needed to be restudied, because there were inaccuracies in the existing boundary surveys and maps. The Park Service heeded this advice and postponed its efforts to get the proclamation signed. Because of insufficient knowledge about the area, the granting of national monument status to Canyon de Chelly was delayed for 6 years. [12]

It was not until 1929 that a report submitted by Dr. A. V. Kidder and Earl H. Morris, two noted archeologists working for the Carnegie Institute, revived the issue. [13] They wrote that

Canyons de Chelly and del Muerto, Arizona, constitute a center of unique importance in the study of the prehistoric peoples of the Southwest. All authorities agree that in the Southwest there is to be obtained a record of the cultural progress of a group of mankind from savage nomadism to relatively advanced stage of civilization with an unbroken sequence and completeness of detail, that in so far as is known, can not be duplicated in any other part of the world. [14]

They also commented on the need to protect the ruins from erosion and vandalism.

Because of the importance of these findings, the president of the Carnegie Institute, Dr. John C. Merriam, transmitted the report to Director Horace M. Albright, National Park Service, on March 12, 1929. [15] A series of letters exchanged between Merriam and Albright discuss the possibilities and problems of creating the monument. The ultimate aim was to overcome the difficulties of 1925. Therefore, Morris and W. B. Lewis were assigned to determine definite boundaries. [16] After the submission of surveys and maps, the Park Service again drafted a Presidential proclamation.

This draft was sent to the BIA and on April 23 Commissioner Burke stated that "no provision is made for the protection of the grazing and other rights of the Navajo Indians," which had been agreed to in 1925. In addition, because of a law passed by Congress on March 3, 1927 (44 Stat. 1347), an act of Congress was now required for changes in the boundaries of Indian reservations. [17]

Several months passed before any definite action was taken. A bill was written by the Park Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs that corrected the omissions and took into consideration the fact that the land involved was on the Navajo treaty reservation. Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles J. Rhoads, who had replaced Burke, advised that the new text be submitted to the Navajo Tribal Council because of the revision of the boundary description. [18]

Prior to the council meeting Hagerman examined the bill. Here marked that it appeared to be more than adequate and predicted that "if my understanding is correct and it is clear that the Indians lose no rights or interest which they now have in the lands themselves, I think there will be no difficulty in securing the consent of the coming Tribal Council. . . ." Rhoads, pleased with this report, once again assured Hagerman that "the proposed legislation, if enacted, will not in any way affect their title to the lands involved," and he directed Hagerman to stress this to the council. [19]

The Navajo Tribal Council convened on July 7 and 8, 1930, at Fort Wingate. Hagerman addressed the council explaining the proposed bill. He reminded them that previous councils had accepted similar bills but due to technical problems they were not acted upon. [20] This present bill, Hagerman opined, "is better than any bill which has been presented to you before." He traced its history and discussed the jurisdiction to be exercised by the National Park Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Park Service was to have authority over the ruins and the Bureau over the Indian lands. In addition, Hagerman showed them a map of the monument area and assured the council that their rights were protected. [21]

Specifically citing Section 2 of the draft of the bill on this matter, Hagerman read

That nothing herein shall be construed as in any way impairing the right, title, and interest, of the Navajo Tribe of Indians which they now have and hold to all lands and minerals, including oil and gas and the surface use of such lands for agricultural, grazing and other purposes, except as hereinafter defined, and the said tribe of Indians shall be and is hereby granted the preferential right, under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior of furnishing riding animals for the use of visitors of the monument.

He then read Section 3 relating to Park Service jurisdiction.

That the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of Interior, is hereby charged with the administration of the area of said monument, so far as it applies to the care, maintenance, preservation and restoration of the prehistoric ruins or other features of scientific or historical interest within the area, and shall have the right to construct upon the lands such roads, trails or other structures or improvements as may be necessary in connection with the administration and protection of the monument, and also the right to provide facilities of any nature whatsoever required for the care and accommodation of visitors to the monument. [22]

Hagerman did not read the boundary description, but stated

It starts in the neighborhood of Chinle and takes in the Canyon de Chelly and the Monument Canyon and the Canyon del Muerto, up to the edges of the cliffs, so the canyons and the cliff dwellings are included in the area proposed. Well, you will have to take our word for it that this description is all right because it is technical and hard to understand. . . . [23]

The first Navajo delegate to speak was Todechenie Chescille, [24] alternate from the Southern Navajo Jurisdiction. He was concerned about a trader in the area abusing his privileges and renting horses to visitors. He also feared that the Indians would have to move out of the canyon. Hagerman assured him that the trader's actions would be investigated, that Indians would have the exclusive right to rent horses if the bill passed, and that the Indians would not be removed from the canyon. [25]

Albert G. ("Chic") Sandoval, delegate from the Southern Navajo Jurisdiction, suggested that the Navajos discuss the matter "outside, at our recess time." Hagerman replied that if the council so desired it was fine with him. Jacob C. Morgan however, delegate from the Northern Navajo Jurisdiction, declared "that the bill as read to us is plain enough" and moved that a resolution accepting the proposal be adopted. The resolution, prepared by Hagerman and Rhoads, read as follows:

Resolved: that the Navajo Tribal Council assembled at Fort Wingate on July 8, 1930, approves the following bill to authorize the President of the United States to establish the Canyon de Chelly National Monument within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona.

The vote was 16 for, 1 against, and 3 abstentions. Sandoval was among those not voting. [26] It was now up to Congress to accept or reject the establishment of Canyon de Chelly National Monument.

Before the bill was introduced in Congress, however, local opposition to the bill arose among the Navajos of the canyon area. Shortly after the council meeting, Sandoval wrote Hagerman requesting further information regarding the proposal. [27] Hagerman replied by reiterating most of the statements made to the tribal council. Of particular interest are his statements on roads and trails. He wrote that the Park Service would have charge of roads and trails but no road would be built in the canyon bottom. He felt that creation of the monument would undoubtedly result in the construction of a better road from Fort Defiance or Ganado to Chinle. He also promised that the wishes of the Indian Office and the Navajos would be considered when appointing a custodian. [28] It seems likely that he also enclosed a map of the proposed monument boundaries with this letter.

On September 8 the local people addressed a petition to John G. Hunter, superintendent of the Southern Navajo Jurisdiction, stating as follows:

The Navajo understood at the Tribal Council that the proposed National Monument in Canyon de Chelly was to extend from rim to rim not including anything on top of the rim. This they agree to. They now understand that the bill before Congress includes side canyons and quite a

bit of territory on top of the rim. This they object to, as they fear that grazing and taking of wood will be forbidden in that territory.

The /sic/ also think that a part of the money taken as admission fees to the Monument should go to the tribal fund.

The signers of this petition wish your influence in keeping the bill from passing as it now stands.

Sandoval's signature was first, followed by the signatures or thumb-prints of another 80 tribal members, most of them men, but including a few women. [29] Hunter forwarded the petition to Hagerman, saying he thought he could overcome the Navajo objections to the monument, but asking for any specific information that Hagerman could send him regarding the Park Service's plans for the area. [30]

Hagerman thought that Leon H. ("Cozy") McSparron and Hartley T. Seymour, traders at Chinle, were behind the petition, because he had recently received complaints about the excessive prices charged tourists who rented rooms from them. Among the visitors who had complained was "a young lady named Miss Laura Gilpin." Hagerman felt that Seymour, the former son-in-law of prominent Gallup businessman C. N. Cotton, was principally to blame. He did not believe that the Navajos would have thought of the issue of lands outside the canyon without assistance. [31]

Hunter, in compliance with Hagerman's requests, met with the Navajos at Chinle on October 8. He explained the outside boundary and said that some territory was needed beyond the rims, but "the rights now enjoyed by the Navajos would not be impaired. . ." [32] A new petition was drawn up by which the local people "fully and wholeheartedly" concurred in the action taken by the tribal council. This petition was signed or thumbprinted by 152 Navajos. [33] Meanwhile Hunter reported that he found no evidence that the traders had taken part in the drafting of the first petition. [34]

J. Henry Scattergood wrote Hagerman advising him that the Washington office viewed the monument proposal as beneficial to the Navajos, providing them with added income from guiding tourists, renting horses to visitors, and selling more handicrafts. He suggested that these advantages be pointed out to the Indians. [35] Because his ideas were written after the signing of the second petition, it does not seem likely that they were ever relayed to the local community. Hagerman's suspicions regarding the influence of the traders was not abated by Hunter's report, but the securing of local acceptance of the monument proposal was all that was necessary to clear the way. [36]

A bill authorizing the President to establish the monument was first introduced in the Senate on January 7, 1931, by Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona (S.5586, 71st Cong., 3d sess.). After being read twice it was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs. On January 28 the committee recommended "that the bill do pass without amendment." The bill had the support of the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and the Director of the National Park Service; their letters of recommendation were attached to the committee report (SR 1395, 71st Cong., 3d sess.). After the report was read, however, action was indefinitely postponed on February 2.

Another bill had been introduced in the House of Representatives by Lewis W. Douglas of Arizona on January 9 (HR 15987, 71st Cong., 3d sess.). It was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs and favorably reported on January 27 (HR 2329, 71st Cong., 3d sess.). The next day, January 28, the House passed the bill. It was then sent to the Senate and that august body passed it on February 10. The act authorizing the President to establish the monument was signed by Herbert Hoover on February 14. [37]

On April 1, President Hoover issued a proclamation for the creation of Canyon de Chelly National Monument. He cited the approval of the Navajo Tribal Council and the Congress. Furthermore, he believed that "the public interest would be promoted" and that monument status would preserve the ruins for future archeological interest and activities. Nothing was said in the proclamation, however, about the rights and privileges of the Navajos. [38]

This brought an immediate response from Hagerman. He wrote Associate Director Cammerer of the Park Service:

I am a little surprised that the President's proclamation did not specifically state that the status of the lands as far as ownership and control by the Indians, was not changed by the establishment of the monument, but I presume that that is thoroughly understood, as that was of course the basis upon which the matter was accepted by the Indians. May I ask you if I am correct in this? [39]

Director Albright, answering Hagerman, replied that

as far as ownership and control by the Indians are concerned /it/ was not changed by the establishment of the monument. It was considered only necessary to have the proclamation refer to the resolution adopted by the Navajo Tribal Council which clearly protects the Indians in the ownership of their lands. [40]

Thus, Canyon de Chelly National Monument was established. It includes three major canyons: Canyon de Chelly, approximately 27 miles long; Canyon del Muerto, about 18 miles long; and Monument Canyon, around 10 miles in length. The entire area is about 83,840 acres or 131 square miles. [41]

Canyon de Chelly National Monument has a unique position among areas controlled by the National Park Service. It is the only monument that the Park Service does not own, jurisdiction being based solely on Section 3 of the Congressional act that charges the Service with administration of the ruins and other features of scientific and historical interest. The Service also has rights to construct roads and trails and provide visitation facilities.

The Navajos, on the other hand, were promised that they would lose no rights whatever and gained one privilege that of furnishing horses to visitors. In the future the rights and duties of the National Park Service would become more precisely established by administrative needs and by both formal and informal agreements with the local Navajos and various Government agencies.

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## Administrative History



### CHAPTER 3: CHANGES IN THE MONUMENT BOUNDARIES

Not long after the original establishment of the monument, an error in the boundary description was noted. Range 5 West had been omitted, throwing off the locations along the east-west axis and leaving most of the side canyons especially Canyon del Muerto and Monument Canyon, largely outside the monument. [1] In order to correct this situation and because of uncertainty as to the accuracy of the townships surveyed in 1870 on the old Navajo Prime Meridian, it was proposed that a new description be proclaimed based on the terrain itself. The most obvious topographic features were the canyons, all of which would be included in the new description. All land within one half mile of the canyon rims would be shown, despite an objection by one engineer that in places the rims would be difficult to define. [2] A survey was needed to locate the western boundary before development of a headquarters area could begin, [3] but this was postponed until the new boundary could be obtained. [4]

It was concluded that new legislation would be necessary and the General Land Office drafted a new description for a boundary based on the topography. [5] F. A. Kittredge, chief engineer for the Park Service, felt that the new description did not adequately provide for a headquarters area at the mouth of the canyon, [6] but it was felt that changing the description as suggested by Kittredge would extend the boundary into another township and make it too different from the boundary and acreage described in the original legislation and proclamation. [7]

A more serious problem at the time was whether Navajo tribal approval would be required by the change. The Director wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for his opinion on the matter. [8] The Commissioner opined that the land description in the original bill had been presented to the tribal council in terms of "the main canyons and the smaller ones tributary thereto" and that because this was merely corrective legislation it would not be necessary to resubmit the matter to the council. [9]

In the meantime a bill had been introduced into the Senate by Senator Hayden on December 8. [10] An identical bill was introduced in the House by Congressman Douglas on December 29. [11] Both bills were intended to amend the original boundary, and the new description read as follows:

All lands in Del Muerto, De Chelly, and Monument Canyons, and the canyons tributary thereto, and the lands within one-half mile of the rims of the said canyons, situated in unsurveyed townships 4 and 5 north, range 7 west; townships 4, 5, and 6 north, range 8 west; townships 4 and 5 north, range 9 west; and in surveyed townships 4 and 5 north, range 6 west;

townships 3, 6 and 7 north, range 7 west; township 6 north, range 9 west, and township 5 north, range 10 west, embracing about eighty-three thousand eight hundred and forty acres, all of the Navajo meridian, in Arizona. [12]

The Secretary of the Interior submitted to both houses a copy of a joint memorandum from the Director and the Commissioner explaining the need for the new legislation and recommending favorable consideration. [13] The House bill was passed on February 20 and sent to the Senate, [14] where it was approved 5 days later. [15] It was signed by the President on March 1, [16] and the proclamation establishing the new boundary was signed on March 3. [17]

The necessity of surveying the western boundary of the monument had not been forgotten. In fact the matter had been given some priority, and even before the proclamation was signed, Frank Pinkley, superintendent of Southwestern National Monuments, had been instructed to contact the Phoenix field office of the General Land Office about carrying out the survey as had been arranged in Washington. Assistant Director Demaray described the work he wanted done in the following terms:

The thought behind the discussion here in the Washington Office was that instead of surveying a township line, pick out the boundary line in the field and actually locate the nearest section line, this section line to be monumented and become the actual west boundary of Canyon de Chelly National Monument. [18]

Pinkley reported that he would contact the land office as soon as possible, but that bad weather would delay the actual field work. [19] When finally completed, the survey plat showed the south and west boundaries of Section 15, T5N, R10W, [20] the west line of Section 15 apparently being considered the western edge of the monument.

A Canyon de Chelly Chapter, the local level of community organization among the Navajos, was organized in the spring of 1934, and one of its first official acts was to pass a resolution giving local approval to the Park Service's presence:

We the Navajo Indians of Canyon De Chelly National Park, as a Chapter Organization do consent and welcome the Government to make any kind of improvements in our Park. Trails, roads, soil erosion, range control and improve our ruins (we agree to cooperate fully). We as a Chapter organization authorize our Chapter officer to sign this agreement as our representatives.

/s/ Hosteen Tonah  
President

/s/ Jake Brown  
Vice President

/s/ Dannie Bia  
Secretary

/s/ Tom Allen  
Chapter adviser [21]

While it would appear that the new national monument was well established with adequate boundaries, the higher levels of tribal government and the Bureau of Indian Affairs were having second thoughts about the advisability of having the National Park Service on the reservation. This change in attitude was apparently stimulated by the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier. In July the Navajo Tribal Council passed a resolution [22] asking for the return of all National Park Service lands within the reservation. [23] In a follow-up memorandum to the Secretary of the Interior, Collier requested that custody of Canyon de Chelly be returned to the Navajo tribe. Acting Director Demaray, responding to a memorandum from the Secretary on the matter, explained Park Service plans for the area and concluded:

It is submitted that the National Park Service is the proper agency to protect and interpret archaeological areas such as that at Canyon de Chelly. It is felt that the rights of all American citizens in these areas transcend those of any individual or group of individuals, just as in other cases where the Nation, by action of The Congress or of the Executive, has set aside sites because of their national scenic, historic, or scientific importance.

It is recommended that no effort be made to amend the Canyon de Chelly Act to return the area to the custody of the Navajo Tribe as suggested in Mr. Collier's memorandum which is returned herewith in accordance with your instructions. [24]

Secretary Harold Ickes wrote former Director Albright asking his opinion in the controversy. Albright emphasized the care that the Service had taken in securing Navajo approval of the monument and his view that the tribe would not be able to provide adequate protection and visitor services. He strongly opposed any removal of the area from National Park Service jurisdiction. [25]

Collier did not give up easily, however. At a conference between the Service and the Bureau in September, after advocating complete Indian management of the monument, he

expressed the feeling that the Canyon de Chelly matter was "railroaded" not by the Park Service but by former Indian Service officials, and that the tribe's views were not adequately presented in Washington. The Indians, he said, feel that way and he also indicated that the Indians thought too many visitors would be fatal to their well being. [26]

Ickes apparently made a decision in favor of the Park Service and the rivalry was passed on to bureaucratic disputes in the field, as detailed later; the issue of the monument itself, however, was to surface again very shortly.

In the meantime, concern again arose over the precise western boundary of the monument. The Park Service engineers, using the General Land Office survey, prepared a new map. Basing their opinion on the new boundary description, they concluded that the monument did not extend beyond the mouth of Canyon de Chelly, about one-half mile northeast of Thunderbird Ranch, and that both the Thunderbird Ranch as a

putative concessioner and the proposed monument headquarters were outside the monument area. A. W. Burney, the acting chief engineer, recommended that steps be taken either to acquire the land needed or to make an agreement with the Bureau of Indian Affairs for its use. [27] Cozy McSparron, now full owner of the Thunderbird, was refusing to renew his concessioner permit and Pinkley feared, due to the uncertainty of his being within the monument boundaries, that there was little the Service could do about it. [28]

I hope that this Office will be given an opportunity to consider and comment on any bill, sponsored by your Service, and relating to lands within Indian reservations. You are aware, I know, of the resolution passed in July, 1934, by the Navajo Tribal Council, urging the Secretary of the Interior "to take immediate steps to have the National Park Service relinquish any rights that they may have acquired to any of our areas." Under the circumstances, I feel strongly that any plans for the Canyon de Chelly should also be brought to the personal notice of the Secretary. [33]

Work had gone ahead on the headquarters and the concessioner contracts in spite of the uncertainties in Washington, and the matter was forgotten for a while. The Bureau of Indian Affairs continued its efforts to develop a case for the return of the monument to its jurisdiction. J. M. Stewart, Director of Lands for the Bureau, addressed a memorandum to Collier early in 1936 in which he argued that the Park Service would be building roads all over the reservation from its surrounding areas to connect them with Canyon de Chelly, thereby bringing in great numbers of tourists who would disturb and exploit the Navajos. He further stated that a number of Navajos had talked to him about the return of the area, citing various reasons but being principally concerned with the canyon's sacred character. Assistant Commissioner William Zimmerman, Jr., endorsed the memo. [34]

Stewart's memorandum and another from Collier supporting Stewart's ideas [35] were sent to Pinkley for comment. After briefly summarizing the history of the establishment of Canyon de Chelly National Monument with emphasis on the earlier tribal council approvals, Pinkley, implying that he had been present when the more recent resolution had been passed asking the return of Park Service areas within the Navajo Reservation or at least had access to firsthand information regarding the council session, stated that the resolution had been "railroaded through" and that the support for return of the area was based on a desire to operate it for profit rather than motivated by a concern for its sacred qualities. [36] He argued that tourists were certain to increase in numbers regardless of developments at the canyon and that the Park Service was far better qualified than the tribe to control them and provide them with services. [37]

A. E. Demaray, acting director, replied to the Secretary. The first draft of his memorandum, unsigned and dated May 11, is strongly worded and based in large part on Pinkley's report. [38] A Navajo delegation was expected in Washington soon [39] and the Secretary was pressing for a reply to the questions raised by Collier. [40] Demaray took time to consider his response, however, and the first draft was apparently never sent. The next day he drafted a shorter and more conciliatory text in which he argued that the objectives of the National Park Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs were not necessarily in conflict and that both had legitimate interests in the area. He gave special emphasis to the importance of the archeological remains and the policy of the Service to respect the Indians' rights and cooperate with the Bureau. [41] The Bureau's attempt to regain control of de Chelly was considered sufficiently threatening that it became a factor even in

dealings with the concessioner. [42] Secretary Ickes had already made his decision, however, having written Collier upon his receipt of Demaray's views that "it seems to me that the position of the National Park Service with reference to Canyon de Chelly has much to commend it." [43]

Nothing more seems to have been done for several years. The Park Service and the BIA learned to live with each other and the western boundary question was ignored. Precisely why the matter was again taken up in 1941 is not clear, except that the marking of a boundary on the ground "was desirable from an administrative standpoint." This time, however, the two agencies were willing to work together; the higher levels of the bureaucracy supported the effort and delegations of both agencies met on September 29 at Chinle. Custodian Wyatt and Charles A. Richey, assistant superintendent of Southwestern Monuments, were present on behalf of the Park Service. Representing the Bureau of Indian Affairs were Willard Brimhall, district supervisor; Paul Philips, head of the planning section; and W. Berry, head of the engineering section. The Navajo tribe was not represented. The brief summary available of their discussions is quoted in full because it was the basis upon which the boundary question was settled:

It was explained to Navajo Service representatives that the proposed boundary establishment would make no changes in the present land use, but was desirable from an administrative standpoint in connection with visitation, operation and maintenance, and would clarify our position concerning the public operator /concessioner/ and the expenditure of maintenance and operation funds. When this matter was clearly understood by them, they advised that they would be quite willing to accept a location which would be satisfactory to us. They did mention, however, that they saw little reason for enlarging the area as it is now interpreted. It was pointed out that we had no desire to take in additional lands here, and that the main purpose was to clarify the intent of the original proclamation and outline a boundary which would be easy to identify. They seemed somewhat concerned about whether we might desire fencing our boundaries at some future date. In reply to this question, it was pointed out that there would be no advantage to the Service in fencing off a small strip along the rim, that it would be expensive and undesirable in appearance from our standpoint. It was mentioned, however, that we might desire to fence off a small piece around our development, to exclude stock from the vicinity of buildings; they were quite agreeable to this minor fencing should it be necessary. Should this be undertaken at some future date, the matter should be referred to the Navajo Service before it is started.

In the course of defining the boundary and afterwards, a few other matters were also discussed:

Representatives of the Navajo Service pointed out that it would be helpful to them to have the entire boundary marked, since it would establish a definite line around the rims of the canyons and give them definite points to tie to in connection with locations, issuing permits, etc. They stated that they did not wish to have any woodcutting done along the rims of the canyons.

It appears that it would be desirable to establish the boundary lines for the entire area at this time since a proclamation will be required to set forth the new boundaries as soon as they are surveyed. The boundaries of the remaining portion of the monument on the south, east and north were discussed with the Navajo /Service/ representatives, and they agree to the general

metes and bounds lines as outlined on the above-mentioned geological survey print recommended by the General Land Office. It was generally agreed, however, that it would be desirable to eliminate some of the odd angles and shapes, and conform the boundary line to known topographic features so that it could be easily identified. This line as surveyed is to be marked at angle points, every mile and half-mile point, the markers to be permanent points established at the locations mentioned.

Out of courtesy to the Navajo Service it is suggested that they be notified when the survey is started so that they can make suggestions concerning the exact location of the boundary as generally shown on the USGS print.

. . . . .

It would be practically impossible to move the line farther west to include Mr. Garcia's buildings, since they are adjacent to the extensive development of the Indian Irrigation Service. Furthermore, the Navajo Service now plans a low dam across the de Chelly Wash a few hundred feet west of the proposed boundary line. This makes it almost mandatory that we exclude this proposed development from the monument. . . . [44]

Initial approval by Superintendent E. Reeseman ("Sy") Fryer and the acting superintendent of Southwestern Monuments was reported for the boundary described by Richey, Fryer altering the field agreement slightly by asking that only this part of the boundary be marked on the ground. [45] There were subsequent changes in the boundary description, although it is not clear who made them. In any case, on March 5, 1942, National Park Service Director Newton B. Drury and John Collier submitted a joint memorandum to the Secretary announcing their agreement on a new boundary description, expressing their opinion that their actions were "properly within the meaning" of the act and proclamation establishing the monument so that new legislation was unnecessary, and requesting departmental approval. On May 25, 1942, E. K. Burlew, First Assistant Secretary, approved the agreement and an attached description that read:

Beginning at section corner common to sections 15, 16, 21 and 22, Township 5, Range 10 West; thence northerly to section corner common to sections 9, 10, 15 and 16; thence easterly to one-quarter corner between sections 10 and 15; thence northerly to the center of section 10; thence easterly to one-quarter corner between sections 10 and 11; thence northerly to section corner common to sections 2, 3, 10 and 11; thence easterly along the south line of sections 2 and 1 to the southeast corner of section 1. Beginning again at section corner common to sections 15, 16, 21 and 22; thence southerly to one-quarter corner between sections 21 and 22; thence easterly to the center of section 22; thence southerly to one-quarter corner between sections 22 and 27; thence easterly to one-quarter corner between sections 23 and 26; thence southerly to the center of section 26; thence easterly to the center of section 25; thence southerly to one-quarter corner between sections 25 and 26; thence easterly to the southeast corner of section 25. [46]

Thus shortly after the beginning of World War II the National Park Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs had worked out their major differences and the future of Canyon de Chelly National Monument seemed

assured. Navajo participation in the various agreements had been limited, and in many cases Navajo opinion seems to have reflected the opinions of whites, officials or otherwise, who were involved in the actions taken. In two cases opponents of Navajo Tribal Council resolutions accused the other side of having "railroaded" the matters concerned through the council. The only apparently independent action by Navajos was suspect as having been unduly influenced by white traders, and at least two Bureau officials who dealt with Park Service matters tried to get positions in the "opposing" agency. One of these was Tom Allen, who signed the Canyon de Chelly Chapter welcoming resolution as "chapter adviser" [47] and who was then contending for appointment as custodian at the new monument. [48] The other was Willard Brimhall, who helped negotiate the western boundary agreement [49] and who, at an earlier date, had applied for a similar position. [50]

The Navajos certainly did not lack their own opinions regarding these issues, but such data as exist suggest that they also differed among themselves. Thus any white desiring a Navajo opinion supporting his own position had only to search until he found those Navajos who already had come to similar conclusions. The assertion that the opinions of certain selected Navajos represented tribal views when arguing a case before a white audience and the presentation of one's own views as those of "Washindon" to Navajo audiences were certainly methods utilized to advance various ideas. Whites were not sufficiently knowledgeable about the traditional Navajo political process to discern whether or not the Navajo attitudes reported were fully accepted by the people most immediately concerned, nor were they able to allow the time needed for a true Navajo consensus to develop. Navajo cultural flexibility was such that even under the pressures of the Federal bureaucracy they could and did take actions that established policy, but conflict between local and tribal interests is clearly a feature of Navajo decision-making even during this period. While the tribal council was approving the establishment of the monument, a strong movement was underway in the canyon area opposing the idea. When the council later was trying to retract its earlier resolution, the newly formed local chapter welcomed the Park Service and appeared desirous of some potential programs that the Bureau of Indian Affairs under Collier did not favor and that may have been equally in disfavor with some council members.

Many Navajo statements, those recorded by whites particularly, seem to reflect quite strongly the opinions of the whites who reported them. For this reason, it is not entirely certain that the Navajo reasons for taking one position or another are adequately represented in the documentation. While Collier opposed roads and some Navajos seem to have supported his resistance to the monument because they also opposed road building, Collier's objections appear to have had a somewhat different basis than those held by the Navajos. The Commissioner feared that improved roads would lead to exploitation of the Navajos by whites, while those Navajos who objected to new roads seem to have done so because of a desire for privacy. On the other hand, local Navajos were apparently eager to have better access both within their own community and to the outside world, and a constant theme in their requests for Park Service assistance and in their complaints about Park Service failures has been that of roads and trails. Although the documented arguments and agreements of the time show only that the Park Service was granted the right to build such roads and trails as might be needed for handling visitation, Navajos have regularly cited an understanding that the Service was obligated to build or improve these access routes. For example, in 1958 a Navajo informant told Mary Shepardson that "The Government told them they would make three or four trails up to the rim like the White House Trail. That's why they let them come in." [51] Similar statements, sometimes mentioning roads as well as trails (the two not being routinely distinguished in Navajo), are frequently heard by Park Service

personnel at Canyon de Chelly.

The Navajos at Canyon de Chelly have apparently also found themselves caught in the classic dilemma that faces the Park Service in all its areas, that of the conflict between preservation and use. The protection of sacred localities to preserve their holy character is a real and continuing motivation, as the concern for Spider Rock detailed later illustrates. On the other hand, the vast majority of the people in the tribe have very low incomes by white standards and while Collier was worrying about white exploitation of the Navajos, the Navajos seem to have been looking forward to exploiting the tourist trade. Early Navajo expectations were probably limited to supplying horses and perhaps guide service to the visitors, with some increase in craft sales anticipated. The potential for jobs implicit in planned park development was certainly realized at a relatively early date, although just how soon this became a motivating factor is quite unclear in the record. The Collier era quickly expanded their horizons in regard to Navajo opportunities, and the question now is no longer the limitations of Navajo aspirations, but the limitations of their resources for accomplishing their desires. The influence of opposing policies of preservation and use is expected to be a recurring factor in the diversity of Navajo opinion in regard to the management of the canyons, just as it has been within the National Park Service.

The general climate of Navajo-white relations throughout the period of the creation and change of the monument boundaries should be considered. The problem of overgrazing was becoming steadily more serious during this time. The early method of range management had consisted simply of making additions to the reservation as the population of the tribe and the herds increased. This method came to a virtual end during the Collier administration, although the Navajo aim to gain control of more of the land they had occupied in the historic past did not cease. With a relatively static land base, the methods next employed were erosion control and stock reduction. The Navajo public opposed stock reduction and Navajo resistance necessitated the Bureau's use of increasingly harsh methods to impose this policy, which further alienated the tribe and the Bureau. Early in his administration Collier had used tribal council support to oppose Park Service programs within Navajo country. Toward the end of his incumbency the stock reduction issue had so colored every aspect of Navajo-Government relations that Collier approved the delineation of the western monument boundary without any apparent concern over what Navajo opinion might have been. The Collier era marked the peak of white domination of Navajo affairs, however. Increasingly in the future Navajo opinion, in all its bewildering complexity, would become an unavoidable factor in all programs concerning Navajo country. [52]

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## CHAPTER 4: EARLY DEVELOPMENT, 1931-1941

Pursuant to a suggestion made by Dr. Clark Wissler, a Committee on Canyon de Chelly was organized to consider future plans for land development in the national monument. The meeting was held at the Laboratory of Anthropology library in Santa Fe, New Mexico, on September 5, 1931. Members of the committee were Neil M. Judd, A. V. Kidder, Clark Wissler, and Earl H. Morris, with Jesse L. Nusbaum serving as chairman. Frank Pinkley was also to serve on this committee, but he became ill and was unable to attend. [1]

The first item of business was a discussion of the scientific development within Canyon de Chelly National Monument. Morris stated that the monument "offered opportunities for the development of an educational and scientific exhibit that would be distinctive and unique." [2] Furthermore, he believed:

There is nowhere else an opportunity of so thoroughly exemplifying conditions early culturally and of displaying in a restricted locality a very long cycle in the gradual ascent of a primitive people toward civilization. These canons have been a nucleus not only of the old Pueblo domain, but more recently of the Navajo. They were occupied, I believe, continuously from the time that man first appears in the Southwest, barring possibly the Folsom Quarry-Gypsum Cave horizon, that is, from Basket Maker II, to the close of Pueblo III, insofar as the latter relates to the San Juan drainage. The late masonry Cliff House phase is amply exemplified elsewhere, notably in the Mesa Verde National Park. In contrast the Canon de Chelly National Monument is particularly rich in remains that date from the beginning rather than the end of the culture cycle. The greatest number of remains represent Basket Maker III. I could not say definitely, at this moment, how prevalent Pueblo I remains may be, but there are good chances that Pueblo I type sites exist in some of the caves.

In a number of pueblos that stand at the level of the valley floors, particularly in Canon de Chelly, Pueblo III remains are plentifully represented, and it is to be expected that careful search for them would bring to light characteristic Pueblo II sites. Perhaps by careful analysis of Mummy Cave it would be possible in this one shelter to develop certain features of the intermediate phases between Basket Maker III and Pueblo III. The probable criticism of the detailed plans for the development of the de Chelly Monument which have shaped themselves in my mind would be that they are too far-flown and too ideal to be possible of realization because of the expenditure that their materialization would entail. [3]

The members agreed that some type of chronological display should show this development in situ, and Judd suggested a small local museum could be helpful.

Kidder and Morris thought that Mummy Cave might be used to exemplify this sequence, although because of the activities of later occupants, Basket Maker II was almost non-existent. Wissler suggested that "the first objective is to present a chronological sequence in one place, then select a site elsewhere that best presents each phase." [4] The costs of developing such exhibits in situ would be expensive, according to Morris. Mummy Cave needed a wall "to hold back the area where the Cliff House stands, in order that the talus could be dissected. . . ." Morris also believed that repair work was essential for other aboveground structures, as well as for Antelope Cave. [5]

Morris stressed that because a Basket Maker II site was not accessible anywhere in the Southwest, he would like to see a site prepared for the public. He believed such a place was available near Antelope House and the cost would not be prohibitive. [6]

In the ensuing discussion, Wissler stated that National Park Service Director Albright

advised him that the Government should provide all excessive work and maintenance incident to the scientific development of educational features in such areas. He further stated that since this area is under the guardianship of the Government, rangers must be provided for its protection and for the purpose of conducting visitors to and through archaeological features thereof, and to tell the story connected there with. He further recommended that it would be advisable for the Government to have some qualified person there constantly seven days a week to work with such scientific agencies as might cooperate with the Government in developing the educational program contemplated, in order that he might be in a position to pass on to the public the full fruits of the campaign. [7]

Discussion then turned to the development of archeological resources within Canyon de Chelly National Monument. The committee unanimously agreed that a qualified institution that would be willing "to cooperate with the National Park Service in the development of this educational program" should be invited to work in this area. When asked if the Carnegie Institute would be interested in participating, Kidder replied "it would depend upon two points: Whether there are problems of sufficient scientific interest within this region to require a period of years to work them out, and, secondly, whether Carnegie Institution would care to obligate its Southwestern activities to that area over a period of years." [8]

Morris offered his services to work on the scientific development of the monument until the culture sequence could be worked out, which he estimated would take 5 years. Morris said that it would be expedient to develop sites representative of each major period. He wanted to give attention first to Basket Maker II and III and then work through to Pueblo I, II, and III, the latter best exemplified by Mummy Cave Cliff House. He believed most "finds" should be left in situ and all should receive necessary repairs. He advised that provisions should be made to protect the in situ finds from destruction by visitors. [9]

In evaluating the expenses of this project, Morris believed that they "would not necessarily be enormous." He stated that nothing should be done until the Government declared its degree of supervision and attention.

"Each particular site," opined Morris, "would have to be watched just as carefully as a city museum is guarded. It would mean somebody present at the site all of the time." [10]

In regard to roads and access routes to the monument, Morris preferred that nothing be done at present in order "to avoid overrunning by too many visitors at the commencement of work." He said that the present condition of the roads afforded access to only the "better class" of visitors. By this he meant visitors who were interested in the area and who would not interfere with work being done. In addition Morris believed that the Navajos should continue to occupy the canyon and were "part of the picture." The committee unanimously concurred with Morris's suggestions. [11]

Further discussion centered upon the minimum amount of excavation needed "to satisfy all immediate demands from an educational point of view." A few sites were agreed upon for thorough examination from a scientific standpoint, and the committee believed "that an extensive program was justified since this monument promised a longer and more continuous sequence than any other areas under Park Service jurisdiction." [12] Kidder posed the question of unforeseen difficulties that might arise over funds secured through the Park Service by a non-Governmental employee. Nusbaum assured him that if such a situation arose, a non-Governmental employee "could be empowered to expend funds so secured, or could be appointed a representative of the National Park Service at a nominal salary in qualifying as the disbursing agent for government funds." [13]

Because the American Museum of National History had previously carried out archeological work in the area, Wissler was asked if they would be opposed to the Carnegie Institute excavating there. Wissler replied that the museum would not be opposed and that having the Carnegie Institute handle it "might be the most advantageous way to accomplish it, since the American Museum has committed itself to development work in the Dinosaur National Monument." [14]

Discussion then turned to the selection of a superintendent or custodian for the area. Wissler wondered if an "outstanding archaeologist" would be the best man for the job. "There is a great deal of business in handling a monument of this type that is not scientific, and it seems advisable to separate the purely administrative and maintenance activities from the scientific and educational activities in this particular development." The group agreed that the superintendent or custodian should be an administrative person and that a naturalist "a high type of archeologist" should also be appointed. Nusbaum concluded that "we should have a superintendent who is sympathetic to this educational and scientific development, but not too intimately concerned therein." [15]

In defining the role of the National Park Service in the development of a scientific exhibit in Canyon de Chelly, the committee decided that the Park Service "should not undertake the development through its own forces," but should have organized scientific bodies handle the matter. Furthermore, the Park Service should assign a naturalist, acting as an assistant to the head of the scientific body, to help in the archeological work. [16]

Judd then moved that Nusbaum write Director Albright informing him of the following prime objectives that the committee agreed to:

(1) That the de Chelly National Monument be made an outdoor museum, exemplifying the history of the aboriginal life of the northern Southwest and that type sites within it be kept available to the public, and, at the same time, carefully protected from the public.

(2) That a small local museum be established, when feasible, in which limited exhibits can be displayed of material taken from the ruins, and showings made of such synoptic series of sherds and other materials as will best illustrate the various phases of the aboriginal life and other features of the area. (Guide-control of visitors to and through ruins is fundamentally necessary to their preservation. Therefore, the local museum development and quarters for the custodian should be near the entrance in order to maintain traffic control, with the museum to hold the attention of visitors until guides are able to make trips with them.)

(3) That we welcome proposal from some scientific institution to make such investigations in the canons as may be necessary to develop an educational program.

(4) That we recommend appointment of superintendent or custodian as administrative man, and a qualified naturalist for this particular phase of the work who can take part in excavations as they progress. [17]

Judd, then asked the committee how these objectives should be attained. The following answers were supplied: that the staff should include at a minimum a custodian (administrative man) and a naturalist (archeologist), and that Nusbaum suggest to the Park Service which institutions might be interested in cooperating with them. Moreover, any monies allotted by the Government would be made immediately available to allow the Park Service to work with the scientific institution when arrangements were made. Morris believed that the best time of year to work would be in August and September after the summer rains. [18]

In regard to restoration and repairs, the committee followed a conservative policy. They recommended that "a minimum amount of restoration" be done on archaeological sites in order to protect and preserve them. They did not want restorations erected on the sites because of confusion and detraction from the actual ruins. [19]

Before the meeting adjourned, Judd suggested the following two tentative programs for the ensuing year, which the committee unanimously approved.

(1) The appointment of custodian who will take control, guard ruins, study administrative and traffic problems, and recommend such surveys as are necessary.

(2) Pending development of scientific programs, certain immediate protective measures should be taken at Antelope House and Mummy Cave where the tower is in very immediate danger. In this connection, it was suggested that Mr. Morris act as consultant because of his very intimate knowledge of the problems involved, and his broad experience in accomplishing such work. [20]

Following the instructions of the committee, Nusbaum wrote to Albright presenting the consensus of the committee's opinion on the prime objectives established. He referred to Kidder's suggestions that the Carnegie Institute might allot \$6,000 per year for a 5-year period. This amount would be Morris's salary and expenses for the most part. However, under this plan the Park Service would supply \$5,000 per annum for 5 years also. If it could not get the \$5,000 appropriation from the Government, Nusbaum thought that the Rockefeller Foundation might be a possible source. [21]

Albright's reply to Nusbaum was far from encouraging. He believed the committee's report "most helpful to the Service," but the plan was "a bit ambitious" in wanting both a custodian and a park naturalist, although Albright believed it would be ideal to have such an arrangement. He stated that the recommendations provided a goal toward which to strive, but immediate results were "almost out of the question at the present time." Referring to the funding, Albright was pleased that the Carnegie Institute might supply \$6,000 per annum, but he was unable to figure where the Park Service could get \$5,000 to help in the cooperative plan. He believed Rockefeller could not be a source of revenue because of his other commitments. Albright did, however, write to Dr. Merriam requesting him to consider the program even though the Park Service could not fulfill its part of the scheme. Albright "pledged all the support we can give from this end." [22]

Although the above plan of funding did not materialize, Morris did do needed repair work at Mummy Cave. This was decided upon at a meeting at Canyon de Chelly National Monument on July 1, 1932. Present at this gathering were Horace M. Albright, Director, NPS; C. Marshal Finnan, superintendent, Mesa Verde National Park; C. J. Smith, superintendent, Petrified Forest National Monument; Frank Pinkley, superintendent, Southwestern Monuments; Jesse Nusbaum, archeologist for the Department of Interior; and Earl Morris, representing the Carnegie Institute. [23] The Carnegie Institute supplied Morris's services and transportation, while the Park Service furnished a fund of \$400 to cover materials, supplies, and salaries for workers. Morris began work in September 1932. [24]

Morris and his crew (which did not include any Navajo workers) worked on the tower wall in Mummy Cave. They rebuilt and bonded the corners of the tower and did needed ceiling repairs; numerous photographs were taken. Morris terminated his work in Mummy Cave in October 1932. [25]

The selection of an archeologist and a custodian also did not proceed according to the plans and recommendations of the Canyon de Chelly Committee. Pinkley, who was unable to attend the meeting because of illness, took issue with Nusbaum over the custodian's and archeologist's duties. Pinkley, in a letter to Albright, wondered who paid the archeologist's salary and if he would be involved in public relations. [26]

Pinkley felt that there were three aspects of development in Canyon de Chelly National Monument: the research activities, which would be under the direction of an archeologist; the administrative affairs, which would be handled by the custodian; and the educational matters, which would be under the National Park Service Educational Division whose duty would be to "translate the results of the archaeologist for the benefit of the visitors." [27] Pinkley believed that the hiring of a permanent archeologist was unnecessary because the Educational Division could handle most of the duties, and if any "strictly" archeological problems arose, he suggested that the staff of the Bureau of Ethnology of the U.S. National Museum be

consulted. [28]

Nusbaum answered Pinkley's criticism by stating that the appointed archeologist would not only supervise expeditions for a few months of the year but would also serve in the Educational Division. Nusbaum believed that "Pinkley will gain an additional archaeologist-naturalist in his forces for permanent service in a restricted national monument area, and his whole educational division, will be greatly strengthened thereby." [29]

In reply, Pinkley stated that "Nusbaum somewhat misses the point I was aiming at." [30] Pinkley reiterated that "What I am objecting to is the calm assumption that only a field-excavating archaeologist is capable of handling the educational work at an archaeological monument." [31] Furthermore, Pinkley believed that the real work was not what an archeologist found but the dissemination of the findings to the public, and since, according to Pinkley, archeologists were habitually slow in publishing their results, this would leave the Educational Division without materials to present to the public. In sum, Pinkley was saying that "it is not necessary to have a field-digging archaeologist in our Educational Division." [32] Therefore no permanent archeologist was appointed at Canyon de Chelly National Monument.

The appointment of a custodian also did not materialize as quickly as the committee recommended. The aforementioned meeting at Canyon de Chelly on July 1, 1932, recognized that someone needed to be on hand at the monument for security purposes. Consequently, they empowered the proprietors of the Thunderbird Ranch to be "placed upon the rolls of the Park Service as nominally paid Park Rangers, which would give them the power of arrest and a general control over the problem of vandalism inside the monument." This was to be a temporary measure until the appointment of a permanent custodian, whose salary was included in the 1934 fiscal budget. [33]

Several men were nominated for the position of custodian between 1930 and 1934. Representative Douglas recommended that L. H. McSparron, owner of the Thunderbird Ranch, be appointed custodian as long as it would not be a full-time job. [34] Another request for the position came from W. H. Clark on January 28, 1931. [35] Pinkley, in charge of hiring, considered Clark too old and lacking the technical training needed for such a position. [36] Other candidates included O. C. Havens, L. C. Boies, Tom Allen, and Louis R. Caywood. [37] Caywood received a probational appointment as custodian at Canyon de Chelly from Demaray. [38] Pinkley did not want Caywood to go to Canyon de Chelly but rather to Casa Grande. [39] Pinkley favored Robert Budlong, custodian at Casa Grande, for the position at de Chelly. [40] Since Pinkley was responsible for the hiring of a new custodian, Robert Budlong was chosen, beginning his duties as the first custodian of Canyon de Chelly National Monument on August 18, 1934. [41]

Although Canyon de Chelly National Monument now had a custodian, it lacked a headquarters and residence for him. According to a reconnaissance report of de Chelly in 1932 conducted by J. B. Hamilton, an engineer, the best site for a headquarters was near the mouth of Canyon de Chelly. Hamilton favored this location because it would be advantageous for preventing unauthorized travel up the canyon and because it would be less expensive. [42] Hamilton did not give the actual cost of the headquarters project, but he did include the following estimates on some of the work involved: road from Thunderbird Ranch \$2,500, water supply (including plant for lights) \$750, and sewers \$350. [43]

The actual construction of the custodian's residence began on September 28, 1935, [44] and a 5,000-gallon water storage reservoir was completed on December 13. Helping Hamilton in the construction of the reservoir were local Navajo workers. [45] The total cost of the water storage reservoir and the sewer line, completed earlier, was estimated at \$2,860. [46] A well to supply water was completed in January 1936; it was 98 feet 5 inches in depth. [47]

Budlong, who had moved his "residence" six times since being appointed custodian at de Chelly, was elated over the progress of the building. He described the residence as having 2 bedrooms, 1 bath, an enormous living room, an office, a dining alcove, a kitchen, and a service porch. [48] In June 1936 Budlong and his wife moved into their new quarters at Canyon de Chelly. [49]

The Budlongs did not stay very long in their new home because on November 30, 1936, he was transferred to El Morro. [50] Replacing him at Canyon de Chelly was Johnwill Faris, who was custodian from December 1, 1936, to November 14, 1938. [51]

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## CHAPTER 5: THE LEAN YEARS, 1941-1945

The entrance of the United States into World War II resulted from the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and other American interests in the Pacific on December 7, 1941. The effects of the war were felt in many aspects of the National Park Service's programs. Shortages of gasoline and tires limited both visitation and official travel. Manpower shortages caused reductions in staffing or prevented expansion. At remote areas, such as Canyon de Chelly, the drop in visitation was especially noticeable. Early in the war Custodian Charles D. Wyatt reported that those visitors who did come stayed longer. He speculated that "perhaps it is to save tires or because the strife rampant in the world today seems distant out here." [1] Visitation by Japanese-Americans from a relocation center was reported in 1943. [2] Navajo work in the war industry and enrollment in the armed forces created prosperity even with few people at home. Traditional craft and ceremonial activity declined. [3]

Despite the lower visitation, work was required on many of the same sorts of projects that were current before the war. The natural forces of erosion were unaffected by Man's troubles, and in January 1942 the need for emergency work on Antelope House was noted. [4] Charlie Steen was dispatched to supervise stabilization work there and at Mummy Cave in May. [5] The work was done quickly and Steen had submitted his reports on the work by the end of the following month. [6]

Erosion by the Rio de Chelly presented more formidable problems and the process of building revetments and other structures and planting seedlings along the stream was of longer duration. In the spring of 1942 work was begun at White House, [7] apparently including willow plantings, and by autumn a similar project was begun at Antelope House. [8] Photographs of both ruins in 1942 show no trees screening the sites yet. [9] Inspection of the work done at the two ruins in 1944 revealed that it was still in good condition. [10] In the spring of 1945 the Bureau of Indian Affairs provided the Park Service with 2,000 seedling trees, including sand cherry, peach, and plum, [11] which were presumably used in the canyons or around the headquarters area. Heavy runoff did some damage to irrigation systems in Canyon del Muerto that year, [12] but there was no damage reported at the ruins.

Work on special projects was limited. The seasonal ranger in 1942, Marvin H. Frost, Jr., arrived in May [13] and did some work on the multiplex exhibit that was under construction, [14] but he was drafted in August. [15] Not only were tourists fewer in number, but many Navajos left for war work or the service. [16] Wyatt finally took employment in war industry and was replaced by Ted C. Sowers as acting custodian. [17]

Meredith Guillet did not begin his first period of managing the monument until June. [18] Work lagged on the new exhibit, but Guillet hoped to have it in use during 1944; [19] however, it was not installed on the headquarter's porch until early in the 1945 tourist season. [20]

The need for storage and a shortage of materials and manpower apparently were the motives for the construction of a cribbed-log hogan. Sowers undertook the project early in 1943 with the assistance of a Navajo laborer, Tuly Bia. Bia instructed Sowers in the art of erecting a far more complicated structure than the novice hogan-builder had anticipated. [21]

Sowers, during his short incumbency, seems to have had good relations with his Navajo neighbors. Aside from his hogan project, he was invited to a Navajo wedding held in the canyon. The McSparrons were also invited, and it is of interest to note that this was the first Navajo wedding that Cozy had attended in his 30 years at Chinle. [22] Guillet, therefore, arrived at a time when the Park Service and the local Navajo community were on especially good terms. His familiarity with the Navajo language and the commencement of his duties at such a time gave Guillet an unrivaled opportunity to get to know the local people and develop friendships that would be of great importance later. While his reports often included wry observations of Navajo affairs, such as: "The Navajos who have been away on agricultural work are drifting back for the winter. The bulk of their savings from summer wages will soon be in the hands of the best gamblers," [23] he was not at all unsympathetic to their problems and consistently considered their views when recommending policy. He could accept with equanimity the need to control the bear and coyote populations when they threatened Navajo fields and flocks and received considerable information on the wildlife of the canyon area from its residents. [24]

With the reduced activity of Government operations and with so many Navajos away from their homes, there was little conflict between Park Service and Navajo objectives. The installation of horseback patrols doubtless allowed for much closer contact with the people living in the canyon. [25] One activity of the white man did bring about a need for a policy decision, however.

Even in the midst of war, for Hollywood the old saying "The show must go on" held true and two movies were produced on location near Chinle. The first, Desert Song, filmed by MGM in 1942, seems to have had little impact on park operations. [26]

The second, Queen of The Nile, caused complications in cleanup. Filming was done at the sand dunes, where a set was erected. The company left the set behind, but gave it to Guillet who dismantled it and brought the materials to headquarters where they would be available as needed. The company also hired 150 Navajos, who were paid each night. In order to be close to their temporary job the Indians camped around the Thunderbird Trading Post and bought most of their supplies from McSparron. The result was a massive littering problem. Complaint from the regional office led Guillet to write a spirited defense of his handling of the matter, not by stressing his limited resources, but by emphasizing the need to adapt to the conditions found in Navajo country:

You, of course, are familiar with conditions here at Canyon de Chelly. There is a cleanup job all year-round and will be as long as there is a trading post and Navajos. I cannot see how a

great deal can be done about it. Navajos . . . have been throwing their bottles, and bread wrappers around the trading posts for years, and although some are careful, the majority will continue to do it. . . . A northerly wind cleaned out the area adjoining the monument fairly well. The big job was cleaning up after the 150 Indians and their families who camped around the store. . . .

Practically all of their wages were spent with Cozy. If I had started making each one pick up their cans, papers, and bottles, they would have moved over to Garcia's store, and . . . there would have been a considerable loss to Cozy. . . . It's just a situation that always results when large numbers of Navajos get together.

If a large Yei B'chai dance should be held in the canyon, the same thing would happen I would resign my job before I would go in and start making myself what to the average Navajo would be the laughing stock of the country. I would much rather do the work myself. I know that I am winning the regard of the Navajos here. I believe they will be more careful when they see that they are merely causing me extra work. . . . At present there is no clause requiring them [the movie companies] to clean up in the permit issued by the Office of Indian Affairs. . . .

The Navajos regard the taking of Moving Pictures as a good thing, and I would not like to have them think that I was trying to discourage it. [27]

Assistant Regional Director Charles A. Richey, after visiting the area and discussing the matter with Chee Dodge, the tribal chairman, realized that a decision on this subject was important to preserve good community relations. After noting that the land did belong to the Navajos and had been occupied for generations by individual Indian families, he recommended that the Park Service issue permits that charged no fee for the filming but that required that money for cleanup be deposited in advance by movie companies. He concluded:

Although I am generally opposed to the filming of moving pictures in National Park areas where professional casts are used, it seems to me that this is an entirely different problem on which the thoughts of the Navajo Indians should be considered. [28]

Acting Director Hillory A. Tolson, after reviewing Guillet's and Richey's recommendations and considering the complications inherent in Park Service regulations in this regard, suggested that because the land belonged to the Navajos, permits should be issued by the superintendent of the Navajo Reservation once it was determined that filming would not affect the ruins or other scientific or historical features under Park Service care. The need for a cleanup clause might be brought to the attention of the superintendent. Tolson asked for further recommendations from the regional director and Guillet before making a final decision, however. [29]

In November Guillet, who had had occasion to discuss with Commissioner Collier the need for protection of the scenery and ruins and for cleanups, summed up the situation as it then stood:

In view of all that has gone before, it would now seem that the payment of any fee to the National Park Service for filming rights in Canyon de Chelly is out of the question. If it were apt to damage any protected feature, we could not issue a permit, and if it were not . . . , it would come under Indian Service permit. . . . [30]

In July of the following year the Navajo Tribal Council passed a resolution asserting its right, in conjunction with the agency superintendent, to collect fees for filming on tribal lands. [31] Even this did not entirely settle the matter, and new complications would arise in the future, but a start had been made in developing a policy for this seemingly minor problem.

The question of water rights arose in 1943, apparently during a routine review of water needs. [32] The major concern raised was that McSparron, if his older well became dry, might have a claim against the Service's well. [33] The Park Service made its water freely available to the Navajos and a review of the laws applying in the area, especially since the Service well had been drilled under the provisions of the act authorizing establishment of the monument, led to the conclusion that there was no cause for concern. [34]

McSparron was suffering from ill health, however, [35] and toward the end of the war tried unsuccessfully to sell the Thunderbird Ranch. [36] When he failed to get his asking price, he petitioned the Bureau of Indian Affairs for permission to move his trading post outside the monument, planning to continue offering guest facilities and running a curio store at the Thunderbird. [37] Guillet hoped for a change in ownership, writing:

If Cozy sells, it would be of a direct benefit to the Park Service to let the new buyer know approximately what he could expect in the way of help from the Park Service in future development, Etc. Although My relections [sic] With Cozy have been good, we sort of walk a tight rope that was spread in the past. A new operator would give us a better chance of establishing a firm foundation in almost every phase of concession operation. [38]

Two other policy decisions affecting park operations during the period deserve notice. In 1944 the Bureau of Indian Affairs asserted in the following terms the jurisdiction of tribal courts over certain offences committed within the monument boundaries:

the Act of Congress establishing the Monument did not divest the Navajo Tribe of its vested rights to the land included in the Monument. This being so, the Tribe retains an interest in the land as to give the Tribal Court jurisdiction and make the law and order code of the Navajo Reservation applicable within the Monument area.

The section of the law and order code referred to above is the proper section under which prosecution can be had of Indians injuring public property of the Tribe, such as trees, within the area. [39]

In 1945 justification was given for expending Park Service funds to fight fires "that occur on or threaten lands within Canyon de Chelly National Monument." Basing his opinion on the act authorizing the

establishment of the monument, Chief Counsel Jackson E. Price wrote:

As the administrative agency in charge of the area, I think that it would be the duty of the National Park Service to take all possible steps to prevent or minimize damage to monument features or lands from fires occurring within the area or on adjacent lands. It seems inconceivable that such action would violate or injure the rights of the Navajo Indians. On the other hand, the advantages to the Indians of preventing fire damage seem altogether obvious. [40]

Again Guillet seems to have been in advance of decisions at higher bureaucratic levels or perhaps influential in obtaining the needed authority. The following month the regional forester, Harold M. Ratcliff, reporting on an inspection trip to de Chelly, wrote:

The cooperation between the Navajo Service and the National Park Service is good. Custodian Guillet has assisted in conducting fire training meetings for the Indian Service at Chinle and a new cooperative agreement is being drawn up to fit local conditions. [41]

The war ended in August 1945 with Japan's surrender. By October Guillet reported the return of many Navajos to their homes and the holding of numerous ceremonies, a Mountaintopway and four Nightways being held within a 20-mile radius. [42] There was a good pinon crop that fall and with the advent of peace all seemed well with the world. [43]

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## CHAPTER 6:

### MEREDITH GUILLET AND THE NAVAJOS, 1945-1950

The end of the war brought many changes. Some were sudden, such as the increase in visitation. In July 1945 only 68 visitors came to the monument, but in August the total reached 248, the greatest number since 1942. [1] By October Guillet had to contend finally with a problem that had troubled his predecessors: that of unauthorized entry into the canyon. [2] He was to remain at the monument throughout the decade the longest tenure of any custodian and would have ample opportunity to experience the problems caused by tourist visitation. But he would also contribute greatly to the development that became possible once the wartime restrictions were gone. McSparron revived his concessioner operations, although he could not get tires for his canyon car and thus fully resume his earlier activities until the spring of 1946. [3]

Stabilization and conservation work had slowed during the latter years of the war. Inspection in September 1945 revealed that while White House was still well protected from runoff, plantings at Antelope House had suffered flood damage that summer. [4] New work was begun the following spring with construction of another revetment at Antelope House. [5] The job was completed early in July, in time to offer needed protection from summer floods. [6] In the fall another planting project was begun by Soil Conservationist Balch with Chauncey Neboyia as lead laborer over a crew of nine men. [7] By Christmas they had set out 10,000 willows and "luka" reeds (*Phragmites communis*) and had raised the height of the revetment at Antelope House. [8] Minor repairs were made at White House; the willows there were growing so well that they had to be cut back from the ruin to prevent root damage to the structure. Road repairs were also undertaken. [9]

An old problem was faced again in June 1946. Metro-Goldwin-Mayer arrived to film Sea of Grass. A Secretarial order had drastically changed the policies established during the war, and Guillet found himself required to enforce all Park Service regulations in the matter. Protesting, he explained at length the problems he had encountered:

It is still my firm belief that as these lands belong to the Navajo tribe of Indians and as the act that set aside this area as a National Monument retained for the Indians all rights of surface use of the land, that any fees collected by the National Park Service should go into the appropriate tribal fund.

He collected the required \$150 from the company, however, because the Navajos, anticipating employment, wanted the filming done there. These jobs did not materialize, however, and the Navajos then asked him to

cancel the permit.

The only alternative for me to preserve good public relations on both sides was to suggest to the Location Manager that they make a donation to the local Tribal [Chapter?] Fund. They were very cooperative and everything turned out smoothly. . . . In the future I will require the written permit signed by local tribal leaders before I will consider issuing a permit. [10]

The Secretarial order, which has not been located, but as quoted by Guillet, granted the Park Service "full custodial and administrative control of Canyon de Chelly." [11] Thus, while Washington had made one decision at the departmental level, the field man found it necessary to take actions and institute policy that completely reversed the effect of that decision in matters in which the Navajos felt a strong interest.

That summer saw also a large number of rodeos and so many Enemyway ceremonies (most probably held for returning servicemen) that there was a labor shortage. [12] For the Navajos the purification of the returning warriors was a matter of great concern. At Chinle there had been plenty of jobs for those who needed them to raise money to help their families with the costs of the ceremony.

The monument also acquired a full-time ranger that year with the hiring of John S. Benson in December. He was housed temporarily at the Bureau of Indian Affairs club, but the following month a trailer was brought in and his family joined him. [13]

The new year had a slow start with limited visitation and development work restricted to road maintenance and minor repairs, [14] but the increased resources led finally to a busy year. The trailer, a well-used structure that had been utilized previously as an office, required thorough remodeling and reconditioning. With a permanent ranger on hand Guillet had time to investigate reports of an "undiscovered" ruin near Three Turkey House and of a Navajo shrine used in the rain ceremony. A measles epidemic also struck that winter, and Guillet helped transport sick children to the hospital and bury one child in February. The Navajos had no natural resistance to the disease nor any effective techniques of dealing with it. [15] An epidemic of flu, which often developed into pneumonia, followed, and Guillet continued his improvised ambulance and undertaking services through March, burying one more child and transporting a total of 30 children to the hospital during the 2 months. [16] Two more emergency trips were made into the canyons in May [17] and four in June, one of which involved carrying a sick child over a hand and toehold trail. [18]

During the spring considerable road work was accomplished; within the canyons vehicle access to Mummy Cave was created to facilitate trail building and minor stabilization in that area. [19]

Despite a 2-week absence from the area to attend a forest fire training conference in May, Guillet found time to initiate a site survey with volunteer assistance from Dr. and Mrs. Thomas B. Noble.

The fire training and extra personnel were needed, because five fires occurred during the summer. The first, on June 2, was a 4-acre fire near the head of Monument Canyon, which started from a poorly extinguished campfire left by a party searching for a lost child. The Bureau of Indian Affairs sent a fire truck with three men, and Guillet with a ranger and two Bureau school employees came from Chinle. They did not get back

to headquarters until midnight and a little additional work was even required the next day. The fire was entirely within the monument boundaries, so the Bureau wanted the Park Service to pay the entire cost of its suppression. Guillet agreed to pay the wages of the men he brought and "did not argue too much [about the rest] as I thought that this might give us a wedge into the position of perhaps getting some control over timber cutting permits." [20]

The second fire, near Black Rock, was reported on June 27. Guillet and Benson had to drive around the canyons to get to the peninsula area, and by the time they arrived the one man sent by the Bureau had already extinguished the blaze. An area of only "5 paces by 15 paces" had burned. The Park Service crew again included two Bureau employees, and Guillet did not know where to get funds to compensate them. He felt that because the Park Service did not control timber cutting and wood hauling, it should not be required to stand the total cost of all fires within the monument, but he could get no clear cut agreement from local Indian Service people. As the matter then stood, in Guillet's view,

they will dispatch men to the fires in the upper areas and Bill [sic] the Park Service. We in turn will take the canyons and the land easier to get to from this side and will bill the Indian Service. [21]

On July 8 Guillet visited Window Rock and discussed the problems with Chief Forester Carl Rawie of the Bureau, but no firm agreement on the funding of fire fighting was reported. [22]

Lightning struck and started a fire near Monument Canyon on July 28. Guillet and Benson left Chinle shortly after 5:00 P.M. to join six Bureau fire fighters in putting it out. They did not get home until 2:00 A.M. The next afternoon another fire was reported near Black Rock Canyon. Guillet went on this call with his seasonal ranger, Richard K. Thomas. Guillet's report illustrates vividly the difficulties encountered in the remote portions of the monument at that time.

We were stuck in the sand for about an hour crossing the wash. We drove around the Head of Del Muerto and down to Black Rock. I found the [BIA] fire truck at Chauncey Neboyia's hogan and he told me that three men stopped and took out on foot for the fire but he didn't think they could get to it from the direction they started. I took Neboyia with me and we walked to where we could see the fire at the rim. The three Indian service men arrived at the fire about that time so as it was getting to [sic] dark to find our way safely over the canyon walls and up the other side I decided to drive around the head and take in water and back pack pumps for mop up work. Neboyia said he knew a road which would take us almost to the fire. We started out but one hill was too much for the equipment. I started back and met Fire dispatcher Alfred Hardy. He wanted to get his car to the fire so Neboyia said that there was another road that we could get in on by driving about 10 miles. We took off and arrived at the fire at 11:30 P.M. The fire fighters had left without doing a very good mop up job as several spots were burning inside the line.

Neboyia, Thomas, Hardy and I worked until one o'clock of the next morning mopping up. We left then and arrived at Headquarters at 4:30 A.M. on the 30th of July.

He concluded by predicting more fires if the dry weather should continue. [23] On August 5 lightning caused another fire near Black Rock, but Bureau personnel were able to handle it themselves. [24] August brought the needed rains, however, and fire problems were no longer serious. [25]

Travel continued to increase steadily. In addition to the routine orientation and information talks given at headquarters and guided trips to White House and Spider Rock, a new program of campfire talks in the campground was begun in July. [26] Increased protection of the ruins was attempted by placing signs supplied by the tribe informing visitors of the Antiquities Act at trading posts and other "strategic areas." [27] The rains increased as the summer wore on and eventually washed the roads so badly that traffic diminished somewhat. Travel in the canyons became impossible and the approach road from Chinle was flooded and a detour required. [28] Full repairs could not be completed until November. [29] In the same month more stream control work and planting of willows began at Antelope House and White House. [30] This work was finished early in December. [31]

A special visitor of considerable interest was Earl Morris. He told Guillet stories of his early experiences in the canyons and assisted in the salvage of a mummified turkey discovered by Seasonal Ranger Thomas near the mouth of Canyon del Muerto. [32]

In December Guillet recommended that ruins in White Powder Canyon and Slender Canyon, including Three Turkey Ruin and Little White House, be added to the monument, stipulating that any additions should be of the ruins only. [33]

In the fall of 1947 the decrease in Navajo income resulting from the return of servicemen and war workers was being felt throughout the tribe. Lacking resources to expand their traditional economy and being ineligible for state welfare programs, many of the more disadvantaged families were in desperate circumstances. [34] In October Guillet reported that the local Navajos were "better off economically than normal," [35] and in December he wrote that they were "better off than they have been for some years." [36] The effect of the crisis was apparently minimal at the monument, the primary result being the arrival of journalists doing news stories on the situation. [37]

Cold wet weather that winter kept visitation at a minimum, necessitated increased maintenance work on the roads, and at times allowed canyon patrol only by horseback. [38]

An infestation of cottonwood leaf beetle (*Chryromel scripta*) was so severe in the spring that spraying was needed to save trees in the area. [39] Also in the spring a situation occurred that would affect the park's policy making and its relations with the Navajos more than any other happening for some time. As initially reported by Guillet,

A resolution adopted by the Navajo Tribal Council on March 20, 1948 to control prices and collect rental fees based on percentages of gross sales is causing considerable furor among the traders and Navajo indians [sic]. It will directly affect the operation of our operator at Canyon de Chelly, and indirectly the administration of this National Monument. [40]

Among the traders concerned was Cozy McSparron, who went personally to Santa Fe to see the regional director, M. R. Tillotson. Cozy admitted that his trading post operation, even though within the monument boundaries, would come under the tribal regulation, but felt that his tourist business, licensed by the Park Service, should not be affected. Tillotson felt that the Park Service right "to provide facilities of any nature whatsoever required for the care and accomodation of visitors" at Canyon de Chelly was in conflict with the council resolution and wrote Washington for a legal opinion. [41] Initially a reply was drafted that asserted that while the Thunderbird Trading Post would be subject to the new regulations, the tourist services would not; this was never sent, however. [42] Information was received from the Bureau to the effect that several legal problems had been raised by the resolution and a solicitor's opinion was being prepared to cover all of them. [43] The solicitor's opinion held that while the tribe did not have the power to regulate traders, this being an exclusive power of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, it did have the power to attach whatever conditions it wanted to leases of tribal lands for business purposes. [44] The council resolution was to be disapproved by the Commissioner, but the issue had become so important that the Bureau planned to review and revise trading regulations for the Navajo Reservation. It was recommended that General Superintendent Stewart of the Navajo Agency be consulted so that any new regulations might take into account the dual nature of the Thunderbird operation. [45] This seemed to settle the matter for the time, but the concession problem and Navajo resentment of white ownership of the concession were to become increasingly significant factors in the management of the area.

In the meantime the most important archaeological undertaking in the canyons since the days of Earl Morris was being planned. David L. De Harport, a graduate student at Harvard University, proposed an intensive survey of the archaeology of the main canyon under the supervision of Dr. J. O. Brew, curator of the Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology. Nusbaum advised Brew that the only permit required would be the usual Antiquities Act permit from the Federal Government and that the concurrence of the tribal council would not be needed. [46] The permit was issued on June 18 with the following special conditions:

1. That, prior to the commencement of field work, Mr. deHarport consult with the custodian of Canyon de Chelly National Monument to determine jointly the proper location for camps, and to consider the scope and manner of conducting specified surface investigations.
2. That diggings be restricted to sites, the character of which cannot be adequately determined from surface evidence alone; and that they be limited both in number and size to the minimum essential for archeological needs.
3. That the permittee furnish the National Park Service with a duplicate set of survey sheets and cards within a reasonable period following the conclusion of this project.
4. That, when laboratory studies are completed, such important and unique archeological specimens as may be encountered and collected in the course of surface survey or testing be shared with the National Park Service whenever proper facilities for exhibit and storage are provided for Canyon de Chelly National Monument and the National Park Service requests the return of typical or unusual specimens to meet its interpretive needs. [47]

The date of De Harport's arrival at de Chelly is not recorded, but he "continued" his survey in August, recording 124 sites by August 25. [48] He completed his first season's work on September 6, [49] having

mapped 145 sites in the lower 11 miles of the canyon. [50]

Another event that would be significant much later to the interpretive program was the arrival on June 6 of a young anthropology student from the University of New Mexico, Zorro A. Bradley, as seasonal ranger. [51]

Other temporary employees included a crew of four to five men, probably all Navajos, hired in the spring to repair roads, trails, and buildings. Special projects, such as reconditioning White House Trail, renovating the ranger trailer, repairing the revetment at Antelope House, adding more plantings at Antelope House and White House, and spraying to protect plantings from the cottonwood leaf beetle, kept this crew busy throughout the spring. [52] A decrease in reported maintenance work during the summer suggests that the crew was laid off toward the end of June or perhaps early in July. [53]

Guillet twice was called on to transport sick Navajos to the hospital, one a child and the other a young woman. Both patients died shortly after arrival. Only one Enemyway is mentioned in the monthly reports, but this was held in the main canyon near White House and thus was a happening of special interest. [54]

Windsor Pictures Inc. spent a week filming in the canyon for When a Man's a Man. Guillet issued a permit, required a bond, and kept close watch on their work; [55] thus it appears that previous requirements for movie making were still in force.

It is not certain just when Benson left, but in October he was replaced in the permanent ranger position by Robert L. Morris. Two Navajos also were hired in temporary laborer positions to reroof the old storage hogan and help with preparations for winter. [56] They continued on the payroll into November. Late in the month two loads of peach leaf willows were received and five Navajos hired to help plant them at Antelope House and White House. [57] In December the chief architect for the storage hogan, Tuly Bia, a singer (medicine man), and an occasional employee of the Park Service over many years, died of a heart attack while working at Sawmill. [58]

The spring session of the Navajo Tribal Council discussed trading posts and considered a resolution that included a provision to tax traders. Guillet reported widespread opposition to the proposal at Chinle, the traders having influenced the Navajos in this regard. He had a long talk with Zhealy Tso, tribal vice-chairman, explaining to him the obligations and rights of the Park Service in regard to the regulation of concessioners, and reported events as they then stood to the regional director. [59] Despite Guillet's meeting with Tso, the resolution passed by the tribal council was thought to impinge on Park Service rights and a legal opinion was sought. [60] It was learned that the Bureau also questioned "several legal aspects" of the resolution, and so action was deferred until the departmental solicitor could consider these objections. [61]

McSparron had had an operation early in the year, [62] and the problem of regulations affecting his business had caused considerable worry.

In December Cozy decided again to sell out. [63] Guillet's report on the situation revealed increasing problems as a result of the dual regulation of Thunderbird:

He [Cozy] stated that he did not expect to renew his concession contract and that in a discussion with Mr. Stewart, Superintendent of the Navajo Service, had been led to believe that we have no authority over the use of lands and that the charging of concession fees might not even be legal. It is quite obvious that we can give our concessioner no protection from competition and should Mr. Garcia decide to put in guest operations, he could do so without any sort of permit from the National Park Service.

I believe that it is now time to find out just where we stand. If we are to regulate the operation of the concession, we should know, and let our concessioner know, just what authority we have and how far it goes.

There should also be a clear-cut understanding with the Office of Indian Affairs.

Cozy does not even want to bother with it under the new type of contract. If he sells his interests the main business is the Indian Trading post over which we have no jurisdiction, and it is doubtful if the buyer would want to take over the guest concession. If he doesn't, can we force him to? Or if he decides to take guests without a concession permit, could we stop him as long as he had an Indian Service Permit. . . . [\[64\]](#)

Cozy was a businessman and may well have been playing the Government agencies off against each other and perhaps even bluffing a little as well, but he did succeed to a degree in obtaining a modification of his concession permit. Regional Director Tillotson's reasoning in the matter differed somewhat from McSparron's contentions, however:

This permit specifically authorizes the occupancy of ten acres of land in an exact square and the center of which shall be the southwest corner of the Thunderbird Trading Post. I question our control over this ten-acre tract and I doubt seriously our authority to issue a permit of any kind for the occupancy of this particular tract or to control concession operations in any way on this land. It will be noted that by condition 13 of the permit we specifically disclaim any right to regulate operations of the trading post and provide that this shall be operated under the regulations of the United States Indian Office.

According to the best records and surveys available in this office, the Thunderbird Ranch, covered by this business concession permit, and the adjoining trading post are located in the N1/2 of section 22, T. 5 N., R. 10W., which subdivision was definitely included in Canyon de Chelly National Monument by the original proclamation of April 1, 1931. However, a later proclamation dated March 3, 1933, and which is now effective, states that it is in the public interest that the lands included in the monument "be more accurately described" and provides that the monument boundary shall be located one-half mile from the rims of del Muerto, de Chelly, and Monument Canyons. This proclamation of March 3, 1933, states also that the original proclamation of April 1, 1933, "is hereby accordingly modified."

With a boundary line so indefinite as that described in the proclamation of March 3, 1933, it is extremely difficult to state whether the Thunderbird Ranch and trading post are inside or

outside the national monument. In this connection, reference is made to drawing NM-CDC-4953, prepared in the Office of the Chief Engineer in March 1935, two years after the date of the effective proclamation. The title of this map states that it shows a suggested addition to monument in order to take in Thunderbird Ranch area" (underscoring supplied). This plainly indicates the belief that the area in question was at that time and still is, outside the monument, since the "proposed addition" was never effected. The same map, by an enlargement of the proposed addition, shows "approximate location of boundary" and "assumed limit of boundary" barely touching the northeast corner of section 22 and located in such a way that the Thunderbird Ranch is a good half mile outside the monument.

In view of this doubt as to the location of the Thunderbird Ranch within the monument, and in fact the preponderant evidence that it is well outside, I recommend that business concession permit I-20p-924 be not renewed in its present form beyond December 31, 1948, and that there be issued to Mr. McSparron instead a new business concession permit providing only for the transportation of visitors up Canyons del Muerto and de Chelly. This would leave the operation of the Thunderbird Guest Ranch in the same status as the operation of the trading post and the operation of the nearby Garcia place; that is, under the control of the Indian Service.

. . . . .

Since there is a possibility that Mr. McSparron will sell and we may be dealing with a new concessioner, a decision on my recommendation should be reached as early as possible. . . .  
[65]

Tillotson appears to have been unaware of the earlier agreement between the Park Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs defining a boundary, but if, as Cozy intimated, the Navajo Agency was to question the validity of that agreement, grave issues would arise. In any case, the Washington office accepted Tillotson's ideas and approved the issuing of a new permit covering only transportation service up the canyons. [66] A new concessioner contract was drawn up before January 25. [67] The Washington office was still considering a proposed text for a new permit 6 months later, however a permit covering only "transportation service up Canyons del Muerto and de Chelly . . . by means of automobile, saddle horses, or otherwise, during 1949." [68] It should be noted that although the rental of horses was mentioned in permits and rate schedules regularly, Guillet had reported that the Navajos "retained all rights to the rental of horses, etc. and Cozy merely acts as a go-between, and realizes no direct profit from rental of horses or guide service" a right reserved to the Navajos when the monument was established. [69]

The winter of 1948-49 was a severe one and bad roads limited tourist travel to a mere 12 people in January and none at all in February. At higher altitudes the snow was exceptionally deep and the Bureau undertook an emergency program to deliver supplies in snowbound areas. Bad weather kept Guillet and Morris in the office more than usual and work on a historical fact file was begun. Dr. Noble returned and spent a month recording Navajo chants and prayers. As the weather improved, the Navajos and the Park Service both began making repairs and preparing for possible floods in the canyon caused by rapid melting of the heavy snows. Guillet hired one Navajo to assist with this work. [70] With further moderation of the weather,

Guillet undertook patrols, not only of the canyons but also of Three Turkey and other ruins outside the monument to check on possible violations of the Antiquities Act. For the first time a canyon resident, Joe M. Carroll, was nominated for the position of delegate to the Navajo Tribal Council and Guillet felt that Carroll would be favorably inclined toward Park Service interests if elected, [71] which he was. By this time the area had a regular "trail crew," who kept busy maintaining and repairing roads and White House Trail and doing channel diversion work at White House in anticipation of floods. For the latter job large cottonwood trees cut from Joe Carroll's cornfield were utilized. [72] High water in the canyons and muddy roads made travel difficult and into May patrols had to be made on horseback. More plantings, this time of 1,000 small trees at the mouth of the canyon, were made. Morris enjoyed good relations with the Navajos under Guillet's tutelage and during the superintendent's absence was called upon to assist with the burial of an elderly Navajo woman. [73] In June protective work for the ruins continued, probably at White House, with the completion of a revetment and the planting of 7,000 willow cuttings. Insect infestations, both of the cottonwood leaf beetle on the trees and of grasshoppers on Navajo crops, posed a serious threat. [74] Wet weather continued into July and four heavy runoffs through the canyons were recorded. A particularly heavy flow down del Muerto on July 4 damaged plantings and erosion control spiders at Antelope House. [75]

David De Harport returned to the canyons on the day of the big flood to continue his survey. [76] He spent a major part of this field season making a more detailed photographic record of the sites recorded the previous year, but also extended his survey another 2 miles up the canyon, adding 55 sites to his total. [77] During his first season's work he had discovered a site, thought to be rather small, that was being badly eroded. Guillet requested emergency funding to do work at the site, and as a result Charlie R. Steen was sent to conduct excavations there. [78] He began work on July 18 with three Navajo laborers. [79] After 2 weeks of digging he realized that there was far more beneath the surface than had been anticipated. His project not only lasted throughout the summer and into the fall until October 10, but was resumed the following year. [80] By August he was able to get a tent and brought out his family. [81] Dr. Noble took transparency photographs at the site for interpretive use. [82]

Scientific work in the area was not restricted to archaeology that year. In August Dr. Edwin H. Colbert of the American Museum of Natural History, with Richard Van Frank assisting, carried out paleontological investigations in the region and included Canyon de Chelly in his explorations. [83]

As the season for visitation and research drew to an end, work on improvements and maintenance was increased. A 1,000-gallon water storage tank was brought from Bandelier National Monument and installed in October. [84] In November and December more living willow post cuttings were set out at White House and Antelope House. [85] A local Navajo, David Gorman, was hired to fill a permanent maintenance man position. [86]

The first winter of the 1950s was a dry one and there was concern about moisture needed for summer range and crops. The mild weather permitted more maintenance of roads and grounds, however. A blacksmith shop was set up and a small storage shed built with pine slabs purchased from the tribal sawmill. Other winter work included further corrections to the multiplex exhibit and preparation of two audiovisual programs using the slides donated by Dr. Noble and the tape recorder he had loaned for use with them. [87]

Guillet's long tenure in charge of the monument was drawing to an end. In February he made a trip to regional headquarters in Santa Fe "to discuss his status with the National Park Service" and began to put things in order so that a new superintendent might take over with ease. [88]

As spring arrived, road maintenance, especially on the south rim, was accelerated and Gorman was placed in charge of a small crew of Navajo laborers for this work. Some tree planting was also begun. Guillet continued to keep himself informed of tribal affairs and reported that the spring session of the tribal council had passed a resolution authorizing tribal suits "to recover or get rental fees from Government Agencies occupying Tribal lands," which he thought might affect the National Park Service's status at the monument. [89]

Cooperation with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Navajos was the general rule, however. In April Guillet spent a week on a joint survey with Navajo Agency personnel planning conservation work. [90] The following month the Bureau began receiving applications from Navajo farmers in the canyons for jetties to protect their fields. [91] The Park Service was also doing erosion control work and planted 4,000 willow seedlings and cuttings at Tse Ta'a in April. [92] Navajos living below the first overlook complained that tourists were throwing "objects" over the cliff, and a sign was promptly erected in an effort to prevent further occurrences. [93] Sometime during the year Guillet also found it necessary to prevent visiting Boy Scouts from carrying off old saddles marking graves in the cemetery near headquarters. [94]

Cozy continued his efforts to sell Thunderbird Ranch and there were reports that the tribe itself might take it over. Guillet reported that at a recent meeting in Chinle "some objection was raised as to our right to issue a permit for Canyon trips." He felt that it would not be possible for a concessioner to operate successfully if he had to conform to both tribal and Park Service regulations and stated that one or the other should have full authority in the matter. He lacked faith in the ability of the tribe to manage the concession itself without Park Service regulation, and suggested that if the tribe should acquire the property it would be best to exclude it from the monument. [95]

In any case, it was felt that the question of the division of authority between the Park Service, the Bureau, and the tribe with regard to regulation of the business should be resolved. The agreement and Secretarial approval of the western boundary of 1942 had come to light in the regional office, causing Tillotson to reconsider his earlier recommendations concerning the concessioner permit. Upon receipt of Guillet's report he wrote the Director explaining the sequence of events as he understood them, concluding his memo with the following paragraph:

In any event, it seems apparent that Mr. Burlew by the boundary description which he approved on May 25, 1942, did not have the authority to extend the boundaries of a national monument established pursuant to an act of Congress as outlined above. I take it, therefore, that the boundary description of May 25, 1942, merely had the effect of transferring administrative jurisdiction over certain lands from the Indian Service to the National Park Service and that in such circumstances the rights of the Navajo Tribal Council over the lands so transferred would still prevail. I should like to have your decision on this particular point and especially to know whether monument headquarters and the Thunderbird Ranch, located in the NW1/4 of Section 22, are inside or outside the legal boundaries of Canyon de Chelly

National Monument. Also, just what agency has authority to regulate the operations of the Thunderbird Ranch and Trading Post? [96]

The regional director had raised a serious question and nearly a month passed before a decision was made, one that brought Cozy's operations back under more complete Park Service regulation but that did little to ease Tillotson's doubts. Associate Director Demaray wrote:

My memorandum to you of January 17, 1949, which authorized cancellation of Mr. McSparron's concession permit No. 1-20p-924, approved March 26, 1945, was in error as his ranch and trading post are within the national monument. Inadvertently, neither my memorandum nor yours of December 22, 1948, on the same subject came to the attention of the Land Planning Division, which is familiar with the boundary situation at Canyon de Chelly. Permit No. 1-20p-924 should not have been canceled, and the continued regulation of the operation of these facilities should continue under this Service. This would not, of course, waive the necessity of the Trading Post operation being licensed by the proper Indian authority . . . .

In response to your questions concerning the legality of the west boundary of Canyon de Chelly National Monument as approved by Mr. Burlew on May 25, 1942, we can find no basis to support your view. Because of the general boundary description given in the Proclamation establishing the national monument, there has been question as to its exact location. For most of the area, this made little difference as the lands continue to be Indian lands and are under National Park Service jurisdiction only so far as they relate to the administration, protection and use of the national monument as provided in the act of February 14, 1931, authorizing its establishment. At first, it was considered that Thunderbird Ranch was within the boundary, but later on there was a controversy, even among the geographers, as to just where the rim of Canyon de Chelly terminated at its mouth. . . . It was finally decided that the only way this boundary matter could be resolved would be for a joint study to be made by the National Park Service and the Indian Service to be terminated in an agreement between the two Services. Mr. Richey represented the National Park Service in this study and his recommendations are contained in Report of Inspection, Canyon de Chelly National Monument, September 29-30, 1941. During the study, it was decided that it was important for the National Park Service to have within its boundary the portion of the Rim Road from Thunderbird Ranch to White House Overlook, the Rim Road from Thunderbird Ranch toward the Lukachuka [sic] Mountains as far as Antelope House Overlook, and Thunderbird Ranch itself, since this was a strategic area for handling of visitors and protection and administration of access to the canyons. It was also generally agreed during the study that the west boundary should follow section lines for ease of administration.

When the headquarters development was started at Canyon de Chelly, the first building was located on the 10-acre area authorized for the Thunderbird Ranch and Trading Post, since this was the only suitable parcel of land not claimed or in use by individual Navajo Indians. It was the concensus [sic] of the Indian Office representatives and Mr. Richey that the west boundary as recommended and finally approved by Mr. Burlew included within reasonable limits the

area which was intended for inclusion in the national monument as authorized by the act of April 1, 1931. The line was accepted by both the Office of Indian Affairs and the National Park Service, and it is assumed that the line was referred to the Indian Tribal Council by the Indian Office. It was also necessary to include Thunderbird Ranch and the access roads to the rims of both canyons so that the National Park Service would have authority to expend funds for the maintenance of these roads and the headquarters area. If Thunderbird Ranch is eliminated from the national monument, then the headquarters would be eliminated also, and it would be necessary for us to enter into a special agreement to maintain the buildings, grounds and roads.

It seems to us that it is extremely desirable to maintain the west boundary as approved by Mr. Burlew to insure proper administration, protection, and use of Canyon de Chelly National Monument. Since this boundary was agreed to by the Office of Indian Affairs and since there has not been subsequent question by that Office concerning the boundary location, we feel that the Service should not now inject such a question into the administration of the area.

We have covered this subject rather fully, but we feel it is extremely important that it be fully understood.

In a postscript Demaray instructed that Cozy's last two permits be canceled and that a new permit covering the full range of tourist services at Thunderbird Ranch be issued effective retroactively from January 1, 1949. [97]

Tillotson felt that it would be futile to try to make McSparron apply for a retroactive permit for 1949, so he asked the director to authorize requiring a new permit for the current year only. [98] Even this raised questions that Guillet did not feel qualified to answer when instructed to contact Cozy, so he asked that a representative of the regional office come to Chinle to explain the matter to Cozy directly. [99]

Legal requirements could not be waived beyond a certain point, however, and in due time Guillet received instructions to inform McSparron that he must also have a retroactive permit for 1949, being excused only from having to submit a rate schedule and monthly reports for that year, although he would have to present an annual financial report. The 1950 permit would require monthly reports both for the period it covered retroactively and for the remainder of the year. [100] On the same date a second memo was sent in reply to Guillet's plea for help in explaining the complications to McSparron. The acting regional director, John M. Davis, would not be able to visit before June 15, but in the meantime he thought it best that Cozy have a copy of the new permit so that he would be prepared to raise any objections he might have. [101]

As instructed, Guillet delivered the new concession contract draft to Cozy, but found him far from receptive. Cozy stated he would operate under the regulation of only one agency or not at all and threatened to close down his tourist services completely, keeping only his trading post open. [102] Davis did not visit the monument until after Guillet had left, and it was then up to Guillet's successor to carry on the effort. [103]

The research field season was inaugurated by a United States Geological Survey project studying the de

Chelly formation. [104] Guillet would not be around to welcome De Harport and Steen back, however. The incoming superintendent, Everett W. Bright, spent 4 days at the monument early in June to learn about "the background and other information on administration, maintenance, public relations with the Navajo, etc." from Guillet. Morris would serve as acting superintendent until Bright was moved to his new post. Guillet left on June 15, but drafted the June monthly report before leaving, blank spaces remaining where Morris could insert statistics that could not be tallied until later. Guillet closed with the following:

It is with deep regret that I submit this, my last, report as Superintendent of Canyon de Chelly National Monument. I have come to think a great deal of our Southwestern National Monuments organization and its members and can only hope that it will not be too long until I may be with it again. [105]

The relaxation of wartime restrictions had allowed Guillet during his first incumbency to make many minor improvements in facilities, but a small budget had not permitted the kind of development that increasing visitation would soon demand. He had been able to initiate some useful research efforts and to upgrade interpretation, while two especially significant research projects, those by De Harport and Steen, had benefited from his presence. His chief legacy, however, was the enhancement of relations with the Navajos, especially at the local level, where he was not to be forgotten.

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## CHAPTER 7: THE LULL, 1950-1957

Everett Bright, the new superintendent, arrived at Chinle toward the end of June 1950. He expressed gratitude for Guillet's careful preparations for the change in administration and was soon busy continuing improvements and maintenance and serving the visiting public. The major addition to monument facilities in July was a new half-ton pickup, increasing to three the number of vehicles available for work. [1]

David De Harport returned on July 3. [2] His first two seasons of work had been done on foot from Chinle, but this year he had an old army jeep and camped, [3] enabling him to extend his survey further up the canyon. In 20 miles of the main canyon he had a grand total of 342 sites by the end of the 1950 season on September 15. [4]

Charley Steen arrived on July 25 to resume his excavations at Tse Ta'a. [5] He again hired Navajo workers, and this season had Chauncey Neboyia on his crew. [6] He closed down the dig on September 22 [7] and spent another week preparing his collections for shipment to Santa Fe. [8] His was the first major published report to appear on the archaeology of the monument. [9]

Bright devoted considerable energy to physical improvements. In August he installed a grease rack for the maintenance of the vehicles and graded a parking area behind headquarters for Government vehicles. In September he hauled flagstone from the deposits near Ganado and used it in front of the headquarters building and in construction of a drinking fountain. [10] What was left over was used for a walkway around the living quarters. [11] While the picnic areas had been used for camping by visitors for some time, a campground with ten tables and ten fireplaces was now being planned. [12] Bright was unable to secure bids on the project and so began work on it himself. [13] The job progressed slowly because low temperatures hindered the concrete work. [14]

Cooperative work with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on watershed problems was also undertaken. In November Paul Balch visited the canyon to determine what was needed. [15] By the end of the year the Bureau had built 500 jetties to protect fields; of these, 200 were at Twin Trails in del Muerto and 300 not far above White House. The cooperative Bureau-Park Service project was awaiting the opening of bids. [16]

John M. Davis, now general superintendent of Southwestern Monuments, visited McSparron in June and apparently resolved some of the issues relating to the concession permit, for in July he sent a revised draft

for signatures by McSparron and Bright. The only change mentioned appears to be minor-exclusion of a provision regarding saddle horses because Cozy merely acted as an agent for Navajos in the matter under the terms of the act of February 14, 1931. [17] Bright was able to return the signed copies a week later and reported that he was getting on quite well with Cozy. He also reported that representatives of the tribe had visited Cozy to inquire about purchasing Thunderbird Ranch. McSparron had quoted a price and thought the prospects for selling his business were good. [18]

This new proposal raised legal questions that the Bureau wanted answered. The Window Rock Area Office wrote the regional director of the Park Service asking whether Cozy paid the Park Service any fees and whether, if he did, Cozy might conclude that he was entitled to a refund of rent he had already paid the tribe. The possibility of excluding Thunderbird Ranch from the monument if purchased by the tribe was also suggested in order to avoid Park Service regulation of a tribal operation. The advisory committee of the council was asking why the tribe had only been granted concession rights to horse rentals in the first place. [19]

Personnel changes in the regional office delayed replying to these questions until October. The regional director's answer seems to have been based on the premise that the Park Service owned the lands within the monument boundaries. He wrote, in part,

I am not familiar with the details of the ordinance referred to by Mr. Fister as passed by the Navajo Tribe requiring traders occupying tribal lands to pay to the Navajos a percentage of gross sales in the form of rentals. However, it is obvious that the Thunderbird Ranch cannot be within Canyon de Chelly National Monument . . . and at the same time on tribal lands. Mr. McSparron is paying a fee for his concession permit No. I-33np-263, issued by the National Park Service, authorizing him to operate a "trading post and guest ranch, furnishing motor transportation services up the canyons del Muerto and de Chelly, and such other services necessary for the convenience of visitors. . ." Irrespective of what his concession fee for that permit might be, it seems that, during the same period, he should not have been required to pay to the Tribal Council a fee of any kind since he could not have been occupying tribal lands if he were occupying national monument lands."

. . . . .

In Mr. Fister's letter of August 9 he refers to the possibility of relinquishing that portion of the monument on which Thunderbird Ranch and Trading Post are located.

. . . . .

Without competent legal advice I could not . . . say whether in this case the lands on which Thunderbird Ranch and Trading Post are located could be eliminated from the monument without Congressional action.

Neither the Proclamation of April 1, 1931, nor that of March 3, 1933, makes any provisions as to the preferential rights to be granted to Navajo Indians. The provision to which you refer is,

however, included in the basic act of February 14, 1931. I cannot answer your specific inquiry as to why that Act did not grant preferential concession rights as well to Navajo Indians, since our files do not contain a record of the background information leading to the passage of the Act. . . . [20]

Hagerman's fears of the ignoring of Navajo rights would seem to have been well founded. The effects of this communication on Park Service-Navajo relations were to be seen the following year, but the immediate result was Cozy's refusal to pay any further rental to the tribe. [21]

Local community relations continued to be good through the year. Guillet had started Bright out well with the Navajos apparently and when, in his first month as superintendent, Bright faced the problem created by a tourist's dog killing a Navajo sheep, the matter was settled by the visitor's payment of \$25 as compensation. [22] The established policy of Park Service aid to Navajos in time of crisis was continued. Morris, acting superintendent while Bright was on leave, helped with the burial of an elderly Navajo man. [23]

By January 1951 the new concrete picnic tables were being installed, as were five of the ten fireplaces. [24] The following month everything was in place. They were divided among three campgrounds: at headquarters, at White House Overlook, and at Spider Rock Overlook. The Spider Rock Trail was shortened from 900 yards to 100 yards when the road was extended to the new camp area. [25] With the setting up of trash disposal containers and new signs, the monument was ready for a record season of visitation and camping. [26] Other changes during the year included construction of a low stone retaining wall behind the headquarters/living quarters building and of a new display rack and case for publication sales, and removal of the fireplace in the office when an oil heater was installed. [27] David Gorman evidently continued as maintenance man, because there is mention of his breaking an ankle while moving the new concrete tables. [28]

De Harport was the only researcher to work in the canyons that year. He arrived on July 2 and before leaving on November 5 had extended his survey another 3-1/2 miles up the main canyon, adding 20 sites from that area and two from lower reaches of the area for a grand total of 364. He also excavated two small sites and salvaged a burial eroding at Standing Cow Ruin at the request of local Navajos and the Park Service. [29]

Locally Navajo relations seemed to be good. Monument employees joined local school personnel in sponsoring an Easter egg hunt in the headquarter's campground for 300 schoolchildren. [30] An Enemyway held in August near Antelope House was attended by many visitors. [31]

The exceptionally heavy visitation, which diverted so much time to interpretation and guide work that maintenance work fell behind, [32] filled the Thunderbird's guest accommodations to capacity and brought Cozy higher revenues than ever before. [33] This increasingly profitable business was duly noted by the Navajo Tribal Council. Cozy's adamant refusal to continue paying rent to the tribe and Tillotson's assertion of NPS ownership of the land at Canyon de Chelly, however, were doubtlessly the primary stimuli for strong council action. [34] On October 2 the advisory committee of that body passed a resolution stating:

1. It is the opinion of the Committee, that the Navajo Tribe, through the establishment of the Canyon de Chelly National Monument on Tribal lands within the Navajo Reservation, retained full ownership and control of the lands.
2. The action of the National Park Service in granting a concession for trading and hotel purposes is not proper or within the authority of the Park Service.
3. Should the National Park Service claim rights to grant concessions within the area, the Committee hereby requests the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Secretary of the Interior to cause the boundaries of the monument to be changed to exclude that portion of the lands on which the Thunder Bird Ranch is located.
4. An understanding be worked out with the National Park Service and the Navajo Tribe relative to the use and control of the Tribal lands within the monument.

The resolution was approved by Walter O. Olson for Alan G. Harper, area director of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. [35]

No follow-up correspondence on the matter has been found, and a routine boundary status report showed no Park Service concern with the tribal action. On November 8 Bright recommended "no change" in the monument boundaries with no qualifying comments. [36] The regional landscape architect and the regional engineer both suggested that the narrow wedges of land created by the sinuous boundaries be utilized in road building. [37] Tillotson, in forwarding the report to the Director, felt that there would be no difficulties involved in working out agreements with the Bureau when needed for road construction and maintenance and supported Bright's original recommendation, which had been agreed to by Guillet and Southwestern Monuments General Superintendent John M. Davis. [38]

In September a young Navajo man, Paul Anagal, committed suicide by jumping from a 700-foot cliff. [39]

The last event involving Navajos with which the Park Service had any concern that year was a minor international incident that lightened the somber mood with a touch of humor. As reported by Bright:

On December 6, a Mr. Anderson an experienced mountain climber from Norway, went down the White House Trail to do some hiking and return by coming out at the mouth of the canyon near our headquarters. About a mile and a half from his destination, for some unknown reason, he turned around and started in the other direction. On the 7th, the de Chelly staff tracked him until dark and returned for flashlights. In the mean time, Mr. Able Garcia, from the Canyon de Chelly Trading Post, was informed by a Navajo that the man was seen in upper del Muerto still going the other way, away from home. Just before we were ready to leave for a continued search Mr. Garcia came in with the lost party. Mr. Anderson admitted he was lost, but he thought there was just one canyon, de Chelly. He was very hungry and glad to be back with his wife and small child who were staying at the Catholic Mission. He had spent the night in a hogan where he had borrowed an overcoat and some extra shoes. When found he had forced his way into another hogan . . . Navajos do not live in the canyons in the winter . . . and was prepared [sic] for the second night. The overcoat was badly burnt, evidently he had fallen asleep too near the fire. After some bickering the Navajo got a new overcoat from the Catholic Mission and a \$5.00 bill from his overnight guest, so all parted company friends.

Strange as it may seem, he had entered two hogans that belonged to the same family, they were four miles apart. [40]

The new year brought "rain, snow, sleet, hail, and blizzard," closing all roads except the one to Ganado, and even that was not passable part of the month. As a result, there were no visitors. Cold weather interfered with maintenance projects, but work was begun on a flood diversion wall west of the headquarters building. [41] The cold damp weather damaged the roads, which deteriorated rapidly under heavy use by the Navajos, who were hauling more firewood than usual. Because of light tourist visitation, most of February was devoted to maintenance of roads and other facilities. [42] In March the increased soil moisture helped precipitate slides blocking White House Trail in three places. [43] The damage turned out to be quite extensive, and work on the trail continued throughout the year. [44] A special horse-drawn cart was employed to transport materials along the narrow access. [45] Road maintenance continued despite the wet weather, which lasted all year, and seems to have been accomplished through a pragmatic division of responsibility among the Park Service, Bureau, and perhaps the county. [46] Work began in the fall on a paved road from Window Rock to Ganado. [47]

Concern for a formal agreement, particularly if major road building should be authorized, was still felt, however. In March, National Park Service Director Conrad L. Wirth again raised this matter in relation to the monument boundary in a memorandum to the regional director:

I would agree that ordinarily it is desirable and important that our boundaries fall outside of whatever developments are necessary for a park or monument. Canyon de Chelly seems unique, however, in that there would be no Monument at all if the Indians had not been willing to agree to let us administer a portion of their lands for monument purposes. In view of the past involvements, surveys and approvals required to establish the present jurisdictional boundary, I am inclined to agree that we might well complicate rather than gain from any attempt to convert the Indians to a boundary extension at this time, especially when the need for it appears to be more technical than real. Of course, this does not preclude the possibility that the boundary might eventually be adjusted.

. . . . .

I am requesting the Chief Counsel, by copy of this memorandum, to seek appropriate provision in the next point of order legislation to cover any necessary Monument road construction, maintenance or improvement on lands situated outside the present Monument Boundary. Please advise whether you concur in this or whether you can work out some alternative arrangement with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. . . . [48]

The matter, however, seems to have remained unresolved at this time.

Erosion control was especially important as a result of the heavy precipitation. In March 150 "native" Russian olive and Chinese elm trees were planted around the headquarters area. [49] Dale S. King, then acting general superintendent of Southwestern Monuments, suggested that the use of truly native species,

such as cottonwood, would be preferable, but conceded that the canyons already harbored many exotic plant and animal species. [50] About this time Bright took delivery of 3,000 pounds of assorted grass seed for use in the watershed project. [51] No information exists as to what species were introduced at this time, but it seems quite probable that new exotics were included.

Work on the construction of masonry water control drops along the south rim of the main canyon began on May 19. [52] As this progressed, the grass seeding was also done, and the Navajos were reportedly pleased with the results. [53] In August further building of jetties was done in both del Muerto and de Chelly. By September 26 some 300 out of a planned total of 350 were completed. [54]

In the spring and summer, new record levels of visitation were again set. A great deal of time was therefore devoted to interpretive work and cleaning the campgrounds. [55] A new wayside exhibit telling the legend of Spider Rock was erected at that overlook and an exhibit was planned for the White House Overlook also. [56] Due to the increased demand for such items, new slides and postcards were exhibited in a new display, and sold rapidly. [57] In June the area got its first 4-wheel-drive vehicle, a new jeep, which greatly facilitated patrolling the canyons and accomplishing other work in sections difficult to reach. [58]

Relations with the Navajos fluctuated. In March the Bureau stationed two Navajo police officers at Chinle because of increased drinking in the area. This move was greeted with approval by Bright. In the same month Bright was elected president of the Chinle group of the National Federation of Federal Employees, most of whose members were Bureau workers. [59] About 250 turned out in April when the area staff again helped sponsor an Easter egg hunt for local schoolchildren. [60] An Enemyway held at the foot of White House Trail in August was witnessed by many visitors. [61]

Thunderbird Ranch had enjoyed another very busy season and Bright thought that they should expand the facilities. [62] Because the mild fall weather kept visitation at a high level the ranch agreed to keep its guest accommodations open beyond the regular closing date of October 15. [63] Tribal interest in the operation had not diminished. In November Bright went to Window Rock to arrange for a meeting with tribal and Bureau officials, [64] but it was not held until 3 months later. [65]

Toward the end of November Morris was transferred; the ranger position was not to be refilled and perhaps would be allowed to lapse. [66] Bright, with record visitations each year, would have to manage with long-term seasonal assistance. Because of Chinle's remoteness, however, winter visitation was very low and other matters could be handled at this time. In January 1953 Bright was able to complete a diversion wall to protect a section of the road to the White House Overlook that had frequently suffered damage in the past. [67] Various maintenance jobs could be easily tackled. [68] By April, however, nearly half of Bright's time was required for interpretive services and even more was devoted to these activities in May. [69] Two new wayside exhibits were installed at the White House Overlook and a self-guiding trail to the ruin was planned to relieve the pressure on the personnel. [70] By the end of the year work on the self-guiding booklet was well underway at Southwestern Monuments headquarters. [71] Seasonal Ranger John T. McConville reported for duty June 8 and was very much needed, for visitation more than doubled and time spent with tourists almost doubled. [72] Bright was transferred to Craters of the Moon National Monument and left

September 1; McConville was acting superintendent until relieved by John A. Aubuchon on November 19. McConville was terminated on December 3. [73] It seems likely that under these circumstances much of the knowledge of the unique problems of the area gained by Guillet and passed on to Bright was lost.

However, Aubuchon remembers his relations with the Navajos as being generally cordial, as the records of his administration indicate. He joined the local Presbyterian church, his admission being approved by an all-Navajo, non-English-speaking board. He recalls numerous occasions when transportation was supplied to individual canyon residents in times of need. His memories of the place and of his stay there seem to be generally pleasant ones. [74]

Little in the way of permanent improvements was accomplished by the local staff. In addition to the diversion wall to protect the road, the only significant change was the conversion of a toolroom into public restrooms by Eugene Mott. [75] Erosion control was continued under the joint Bureau-Park Service project with the planting of another 2,500 pounds of grass seeds and of willow cuttings taken from the flourishing stands at White House and Antelope House, [76] the willows having been used at the jetties built in 1952.

Bright continued his efforts at improving community relations with the annual Easter egg hunt, but there is generally little mention of Navajo or community affairs in the monthly reports for the year. [77]

Consideration of the road and boundary problem moved with extreme slowness. Not until February 12 did P. P. Patrow, acting regional director, reply to Tillotson's memorandum of March 29, 1952, giving regional concurrence to the suggestion that special legislative authority be sought to permit road building outside the monument's boundaries. [78]

A report by Bright in July on utilities shows the interrelatedness of the Park Service, the concessioner, and local Navajos. Cozy supplied electricity from a private generator for both his own use and for the Park Service. His rates, while considered high, were lower than the cost would have been if the Service were required to generate its own power. A 5,000-gallon water reservoir constructed by the Service provided water for the Thunderbird, the Park Service, and local Navajos, both for domestic use and for watering livestock. This was not adequate for the demand, especially in view of the need to maintain a reserve for fire fighting. In 1936 the Park Service had put in a gas engine to pump the water and a meter so that Cozy could be charged for water supplied to the Thunderbird. Mechanical problems with the meter and the small capacity of the pump caused so much trouble that about 1947 or 1948 Cozy installed an electric pump. Since that time he had pumped the water at his own expense in the daytime and the Park Service took over at night. This was the only method possible to meet the demands created by the increased visitation and by the growing needs of the Navajos. [79]

Perhaps the major accomplishment of the Government, in its effect on both monument operation and the local Navajos, was work done by the Bureau of Indian Affairs some distance away. In October the paving of the road from Window Rock to Ganado was completed. [80] This cut the distance from Chinle to a paved road by 30 miles, making access to goods and services not locally available easier for all residents and facilitating tourist access to the monument.

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# Canyon de Chelly



## Administrative History

### CHAPTER 8: DEVELOPMENT AND NAVAJO TROUBLES, 1958-1962

On May 4, 1958, Paul A. Berger began his duties as superintendent at Canyon de Chelly. [1] Informal slide shows and talks were presented to visitors around a "small campfire circle" completed during the previous month. Aiding in these presentations as well as in patrols along the rim roads was Seasonal Ranger Martin A. Link. David Gorman was still the maintenance man, although he was on sick leave during the end of May due to sciatic rheumatism. [2]

A tragic event also occurred in May with the death of John R. Nelson, partner and manager of the Thunderbird Ranch, who had a fatal heart attack. His wife, aided by John Wade, took over his duties. [3] In June, Mrs. Nelson decided to sell the Thunderbird. [4]

An interesting report was filed in May by Franklin Smith, regional museum curator, concerning the museum at de Chelly. He wrote:

The monument collections are small, consisting primarily of specimens of cordage, basketry, and pottery picked up from the archeological sites in the area. Much of this material is without provenience, and might well be culled for exhibit material and then discarded. There are no records on the collections at the monument, but some data is available at Southwest Archeological Center. [5]

In the months of June, July, and August, almost 8,000 visitors were recorded at Canyon de Chelly. [6] Two automobile accidents occurred during this period. One involved a Government vehicle, which hit a tree in an effort to avoid a sheep, and another involved the collision of two privately-owned cars on the canyon floor. [7]

Berger also reported in June that a contract was signed between the Bureau and the Pecos Construction Company to pave the remaining 16 miles of road between Chinle and Ganado Junction. The contract was to extend for about 1 year, and at its completion the 35 miles between the two points would be a paved surface. [8]

Berger was also confronted with a problem relating to a proposed well drilling by the Navajos. Reed Winnie, president of the Chinle Chapter, stated that permission to drill a well and place a windmill in the area known as Peach Orchard about 2 miles beyond White House Overlook road and approximately one-

quarter mile from the rim of the canyon was granted to the tribe by the original bill establishing the monument. [9] Berger, however, felt that they could not drill a well "within at least one-half mile of the Canyon rim since that is considered the Monument boundary and any development, other than National Park Service development, would not be permitted." [10]

Improvements at the monument included three new fire extinguishers placed at the Thunderbird and two new easel exhibits placed at White House Trail and White House Ruin. Regular patrols also continued and included, besides the rim roads, the Spider Rock picnic grounds and trips up the canyon when possible. [11]

Concerning the proposed selling of the Thunderbird Ranch, Berger reported that there were two parties interested. Mrs. Nelson was asking \$150,000 for the Thunderbird, and Berger thought that the price was perhaps too high, because interest was lagging. [12]

The month of August was a busy one. Over 3,600 people in 955 automobiles were counted from 41 states and 10 foreign countries. Work on the road between Chinle and Ganado Junction, which was subcontracted to the Witt-Ross Company, was progressing. Other road work included grading and placing drainage structures from Chinle Junction north to Many Farms and grading and sub-base work on the road south of Chinle Junction to Pinyon Junction. [13]

Park personnel were involved in repairing the tread of the White House Trail, improving the South Rim Road, and inspecting for "Ips" infestation in the pinon trees at de Chelly of which a few scattered areas were found. A forest fire was reported on August 10 "in the tree cabling area on the Tsaile drainage." [14] Berger, Don Boileau, park ranger, and Don Lyndholm, range management supervisor, Bureau of Indian Affairs, helped in fighting the conflagration, along with approximately 75 other men. The fire did not threaten the park boundary, and by August 13 was under control, having destroyed from 1,200 to 1,500 acres. "All timber burned," wrote Berger, "was in the cabled tree area and did little damage to any timber of value." [15]

The slide shows and evening programs ended in September, and the seasonal personnel Link, Boileau, and Richard P. Draper left. [16] Also during the month jetty work was done at the ruins: 240 jetties were placed at Standing Cow Ruins, 160 constructed at Antelope Ruins, and 240 built at Tse Ta'a Ruins. [17]

Berger also reported that he had reviewed the "Site Development, Residential and Utility Area" drawings for Canyon de Chelly and approved them. He was, however, concerned over the need for an additional 50 feet of land, which was being used by a Navajo lady for grazing purposes. He hoped that he could get permission from the tribe and lady for access to this area. [18]

A report made by Regional Director Hugh Miller, who was at de Chelly from August 31 to September 1, reveals much about the operations there. Miller's inspection was made in relation to Mission 66 master planning. Some of his remarks on pertinent subjects follow:

Organization: This is another small organization, flexible in operation and efficient in fact. The organization consists of the superintendent, a park ranger GS-5, and a full time maintenanceman.

Personnel: The present staff is probably adequate; that is to say it would be adequate with the addition of an administrative assistant when we get an employee's residence to put him in. We are asking for four additional months of park ranger service in the 1960 estimates.

Plant: This is a large monument with many maintenance problems; however, its total powered equipment is limited to one Dodge power pickup, 1957, one-half-ton rated capacity; one Ford pickup truck, one-half-ton 1956; one two-ton Ford dump truck, condition good, and one light Gallion road grader, condition poor. . . . the superintendent should be provided with a passenger automobile.

The layout of offices, workshops, warehouses, etc., is not conducive to efficient work. . . . There is no housing for any employees except the Superintendent. This situation will, however, be very substantially improved when we realize the construction program schedules for the 1960 Fiscal year. It includes a new visitor center, three employees' residences, necessary related utilities, etc. [19]

Commenting on specific items, Miller found the office, which adjoined the superintendent's residence, tiny; the public campground small yet "delightful," with excellent maintenance; the rim drive unsurfaced, yet "remarkably free from trash, no easy achievement in the Indian Country." [20] Concerning overlooks, he believed the view from Tsegi Overlook "magnificent," and noted that the safety barrier and interpretive treatment that were needed were being planned for. The Junction Overlook received the same comments. The White House Overlook, on the other hand, which received the most visitors, had only limited interpretive devices in the form of self-guiding trail leaflets. [21]

Commenting on the relations with the Navajos, Miller believed them to be good. He stated that

Superintendent Berger's estimate of the situation is that so far as the individual members of the National Park Service at Canyon de Chelly are concerned, the Navajo are very friendly. However, he believes that the Navajo resent the presence of the National Park Service as an invasion of their traditional holdings. This seems to be wholly apart from economic reasons but to be imbedded in the traditions and pride of the Navajo Nation. The Superintendent believes that the younger generations will be readier to perceive that actual economic benefits accrue from our presence and that the present resentment may slowly be toned down and perhaps forgotten. Such improvement he feels will be a matter of many years. [22]

Miller also made remarks on the Thunderbird Ranch, which he felt was doing its job; on relations between the Park Service and the Bureau, which he believed to be excellent; and on Berger's administrative qualities, which he believed to be of the highest order. [23]

Aside from this report, Berger commented on campfire interpretive programs at de Chelly and shed light on how things were done there. Berger believed the campfire programs, which consisted of 35 slides and ended with a question and answer session, were very beneficial. [24]

In October the park ranger position was reclassified from GS-5 to GS-7. Also during the month the Park Service cooperated with the Navajo police in apprehending two drunken Navajo boys who had an accident in their pickup on the south rim of the canyon. [25]

Stabilization work under contract was done at the foundation and base of White House Ruins. The work consisted of putting grout into the sand and debris under the ruins to prevent water from shifting and heaving the base material. [26] Evidently, this was a new pumping method of subsoil stabilization seldom used before. [27] The total cost of the project was \$6,189.50. Archeologists Steen and Richert were to make periodic inspections to see how the work was progressing and the results. This process had been employed successfully in other stabilization projects, and it was hoped that it would be effective at the White House Ruins. [28]

Berger was still concerned over the proposed developments at de Chelly, especially the problem of a right of way for the proposed south rim road. He believed that a boundary change would not be necessary. [29] He did, however, fear "a great deal of opposition" from the Navajos because the proposed road crossed a section of Navajo farm land. [30]

In November the Navajo tribe did work on the Twin Trails into Canyon del Muerto. This was a Navajo work project for the unemployed and gave jobs to 10 Navajos. The Park Service gave advice when it was requested. Berger commented that "the work was accomplished by hand labor and a satisfactory job resulted." [31]

Also during November, Berger spent several days in Santa Fe at the regional office at a meeting concerning relations with the Navajos. [32] Also present at the meeting were Guillet, then superintendent of Walnut Canyon National Monument, and Arthur H. White, superintendent at Navajo National Monument. [33] This meeting was a result of National Park Service Acting Director E. T. Scoyen's request for a study of the "Navajo's apparent suspicion of planning assistance that the Service has offered from time to time." [34]

The result of this meeting was a report by Berger, Guillet, and White. They traced the early background of Navajo-United States Government contact from 1868 and the histories of the establishment of Canyon de Chelly [35] and Navajo national monuments. Then they turned to the main problem facing the Park Service: "How can we overcome this inbred distrust of government agencies and establish an atmosphere of mutual trust in our dealings with the Tribe?" [36] In answering this question, they felt that the choice of men to deal with the Navajos must be made wisely. They made some rather negative remarks about McSparron, who had owned the Thunderbird Ranch. They believed he had had a great deal of influence with the Navajos and served as a "local news dispensing agency, ward boss and general informer and advisor." He also interfered, according to Berger, Guillet, and White, with Park Service policies he did not agree with. [37]

In recent discussions with the Navajo Tribal Council and their representatives they have stated (a) that we took Rainbow Bridge away from them when it was established as a national monument, (b) that we have in effect taken the Canyon de Chelly and Navajo National Monument lands away from the Indians, and (c) that we have driven them out of Chaco

## Canyon.

Thompson to Rogers, Apr. 11, 1958, *ibid*.

They felt that the Navajos had no ill feelings toward the Service personnel who had been stationed at de Chelly. "Without exception, the local people speak well of the monument custodians and superintendents." [38] Slight differences would arise, they said, but this was true of all Government agencies operating on reservations. They believed the Navajos had an "inherited distrust of all people," and hoped that the younger and better educated Navajos "might gradually lose some of this distrust." [39] Concerning the rapid shifting of monument personnel, they believed this to be a hindrance to building confidence and rapport between the Park Service and the Navajos. [40]

In concluding their report, they made six recommendations: 1) they wanted to establish a position of liaison man between the Park Service and the Navajos and suggested Tom Dodge, son of the late Chee Dodge, for the slot. Dodge was employed as superintendent of San Carlos Apache Agency; 2) they hoped that the Park Service personnel in Navajo country would be better informed about the area; 3) they wanted the Navajos to be able to collect fees at the monuments, though for what was unclear; 4) they suggested setting up a booth at the Navajo Tribal Fair on an annual basis; 5) they hoped more Navajos would be employed by the Park Service in trainee positions; 6) they recommended that "superintendents of areas in Arizona and New Mexico be made aware of the problems of the service with the Indian Tribes and further recommend that they be requested to handle under their jurisdiction matters which concern the Indians with discretion and caution." [41]

In December 1958, 433 visitors arrived at de Chelly in 130 cars. The total visitation for 1958 was 15,844 as compared to 13,235 for 1957. [42] Work was progressing on roads from Ganado Junction to Many Farms and from Chinle to the south. The maintenance man, Gorman, who was once again suffering from rheumatism, returned to work after 60 days of treatment. [43] Work was also done on a revision of the White House Trail guide. [44]

The Thunderbird had accommodated 2,776 overnight guests during the year. It still had no buyer. [45] The Navajo tribe was not interested in becoming the owner, Paul Jones, Navajo Tribal Council chairman, stating that "the Navajo Tribe is not interested at this time in purchasing the possessory interest in the Thunderbird Ranch and trading post, and hereby waives its option to purchase such interest in accordance with the Navajo Tribe's lease." [46] Berger informed the regional director of the tribe's decision and said he felt that the proposed prospectus for the Thunderbird should be distributed to all parties "interested in purchasing a concession with the Park Service." [47]

Berger then wrote to Mrs. Nelson and stated that the Navajos were not at present interested in buying the Thunderbird. He believed that the Navajo tribe would not interfere in the sale and informed her of the concession prospectus. In concluding his letter, Berger said that "the present contract, which runs until December 31, 1973, will operate until that date without interference from the tribe." [48]

The prospectus included an invitation to "all persons or corporations interested in acquiring and operating

the Thunderbird Ranch and Trading Post. . . ." [49] It further stated that an applicant must be acceptable not only to the Park Service but also to the Navajo Tribal Council. [50]

Contents of the prospectus included a description of the Canyon de Chelly area, park visitation, and concession and Government operations. The Thunderbird Ranch was described as follows:

The Lodge has a large room which at present functions as a dining room and lounge, a kitchen, cook's room with bath, and living quarters for the concessioner consisting of two bedrooms each with bath and a large living room. Also in this building are two guest rooms, each with bath. There are two large porches on the main building. The manager's cabin has two bedrooms, each with bath, a living room and a kitchen. [51]

There were also two cabins for employees, a utility and storage building, a barn and storage building, and three guesthouses. The guesthouses totalled ten double units. [52]

Besides discussing such matters as rates, insurance, and bonding, the prospectus contained information on Mission 66, "the ten-year program undertaken in 1956 by the National Park Service to bring the National Park System up to the standards which the American people want and have a right to expect." Included in the Mission 66 project at Canyon de Chelly were improvements on roads and trails. [53]

The proposal for a water and sewage system at de Chelly caused problems because the proposed sewage lagoon was on fenced Indian land. [54] Berger was instructed to "take preliminary steps to obtain the authorization." [55] The acting regional director also wrote Berger and informed him that the sewage lagoon was definitely within the Canyon de Chelly National Monument boundaries and "this will provide a more advantageous position for us in negotiating for the release of the land needed since the act creating the Monument provides that land required for developments may be so used." [56] Furthermore, Berger was advised that

It is particularly important to avoid a situation which will create a misunderstanding between Indians and the Service which I am sure you understand. Nevertheless, it seems clear that we have a clear legal right to use the land. Adequate notice and due consideration of the Navajo who is using the land are a courtesy we should observe meticulously. [57]

Berger, in turn, began negotiations with the Navajo owner of this land who was to receive a "permit for the use of the field . . . [and] will have the privilege of a 3/4-inch water line so that water may be taken into his house in return for permitting the National Park Service to construct the sewage lagoon in the field." [58] However, the negotiations apparently were not finalized, because the site for the sewage lagoon was moved to a new, less conspicuous location. [59]

Following the recommendations made at the meeting in Santa Fe pertaining to Navajo-Park Service relations, space for a Park Service booth at the Navajo Tribal Fair, which was to be held September 11-14, was obtained from the fair committee. [60] National Park Service Associate Director Scoyen was very pleased with most of the recommendations and believed them worthwhile. He took exception, however, to

the recommendation concerning the collection of fees, because this would necessitate legislation and because the expenses involved in collecting the fees would exceed the amount of money collected. [61] Responding to Scoyen's remarks, Miller stated that plans were underway to put the recommendations into effect. [62]

During the month of April, relinquishment rights of tribal Indian land within Canyon de Chelly National Monument needed for road construction was obtained from Anson Bahe, an elderly Navajo woman. Berger wrote to the District 10 Grazing Committee at Chinle requesting consideration "of a problem which involves a strip of land at least fifty (50) feet wide and the length of the fenced field just east of the present Monument Headquarters." [63] Berger said that the existing fence would be removed and a new fence constructed further to the east. The approximate area needed would be one and one-fourth acres. "We urge the Grazing Committee," concluded Berger, "to consider the problem involved and to advise the party concerned to withdraw from the land, without prejudice toward the National Park Service, so the land may be used for development purposes." [64]

The relinquishment agreement obtained from Anson Bahe as was follows:

I, Anson Bahe, Census No. 50978, Hereby relinquish all use rights to the approximate one and one-fourth acres of land which lie within a fifty (50) foot strip of land along the entire western edge of the above described fenced field and further assert that all use rights acouring [sic] to myself or to my heirs and/or dependents will be satisfied, and that we shall enter no protest to the use of these relinquished lands for Monument purposes, upon the following terms and conditions:

The National Park Service agrees to build and maintain a sheep-proof fence along the eastern edge of the above mentioned fifty foot strip of land. The existing fence along the western edge of the strip will be removed and the salvaged materials will be turned over to Anson Bahe.

It is further agreed that Anson Bahe grants permission to the National Park Service to divert surface water away from the proposed residential area upon land used by Anson Bahe. The water will be diverted eastward and northward across land used by Anson Bahe and the National Park Service will construct \_\_\_\_ spreaders or diversion dams to prevent erosion of the remaining land used by Anson Bahe. [65]

Also during March, the annual Easter egg hunt was held in the Cottonwood Campground, and approximately 350 people attended. That month 1,614 visitors arrived in 372 cars. [66]

In April 1959 an article on Canyon de Chelly with vivid color illustrations appeared in Arizona Highways. It outlined Canyon de Chelly's history and contained information on the various ruins. [67] Also during April and extending into May a flu epidemic struck the area. In addition to numerous Navajos, Berger, the ranger, and Guy Tso, the laborer, were afflicted. [68]

In May Berger received a compilation by Edmund B. Rogers entitled "History of Legislation Relating to The

National Park System Through the 82nd Congress." It contained valuable legislative material relating to Canyon de Chelly. [69]

John B. Anderson, assistant project engineer, and four engineering students arrived at de Chelly in June to work on new construction projects. [70] Berger reported that the sites for the proposed visitor center, sewage lagoons, and entrance road from the monument boundary to the new parking area had been cross-sectioned and staked. [71] In addition, Anderson and his crew mapped out extensions for the electrical distribution system. [72] Although no bids had been received for this construction by July 16, a low bid was finally received for "Additions to the Electrical Distribution System" on July 21. [73]

Berger pointed out to the chief, Western Office for Design and Construction, that a fence was not included around the proposed sewer lagoons. Berger considered it essential in order to protect small children as well as wandering livestock. [74] The office approved this suggestion. [75]

An interesting report was filed in June by Berger summarizing the most significant events at Canyon de Chelly during the past 12 months. The following three items were listed:

1. Realignment and reconstruction of approach road to Canyon de Chelly.
2. Stabilization of White House Ruin.
3. Reconstruction of Twin Trail leading into Canyon Del Muerto from the north rim. [76]

Visitation for the month of July totaled 3,328 people. Many attended the interpretive talks at the campground, which covered some of the following topics: "Our National Parks and monuments," "Early Inhabitants of the Southwest," "The Navajo, Past and Present," and "Highlights of the Four Corners Area." [77]

Work was also done during July on jetty building and tree planting. The Park Service and Bureau were working well together on these projects, and Berger and Boileau felt that the two Government agencies had a good relationship with the Navajos during the construction work. [78]

A complaint was lodged against the Thunderbird Ranch in August by two visitors from Sweden. They complained of the accommodations, listing such items as no curtains, no hangers, and no door lock in their room. They also complained of the lack of a towel rack, the inoperativeness of both bedlamps, and bad toilet facilities. In closing, they complained of the paper thin walls and stated that

We regret that we must complain, especially since we are foreigners and dislike creating badfeelings [sic] On the other hand, we feel that our extensive travels both here and abroad give us a good basis for comparison. [79]

Answering this complaint, John Wade, manager of the Thunderbird, stated that curtains, hangers, and a towel rack were put in the room. He said that none of the rooms had locks, just screen door latches. The lamps were repaired, but at present, said Wade, no plans were being made to expand the toilet facilities. He concluded that "we do not plan changing the 'paper thin' walls . . . at this time." [80]

Work proceeded in September on the museum exhibit plans for the proposed visitor center. These plans called for 18 exhibits in the exhibit room and lobby. [81]

Also during the month "Ips" infestation was said to be almost in the epidemic stage in areas adjacent to the monument, and a 15-year-old white girl reported an assault by a Navajo boy. Investigation revealed that he tore the girl's blouse. The boy was drunk at the time and was taken by the Navajo police to the Fort Defiance jail. [82]

A great deal of design and construction work began in October. Don Marley, engineer, Carl Alleman, landscape architect, Jerry Riddell, architect, and Harold Marsh, landscape architect, accomplished work on the proposed residential area related to flooding, road location, and the location of the proposed three residences. [83] They also studied a proposed campground entrance road and future campground expansion. [84]

Work was also begun on the access road and parking area as well as on the water and sewage systems. The work on the electrical distribution system was about 65 percent completed; plans for laying an underground cable to the visitor center site and the residential area hinged on the road contractor's progress. [85]

Zorro Bradley, archeologist, submitted a report on the major ruins toward the end of October. He was primarily taking pictures for use in the area's archeological handbook, but he also commented on the need for some stabilization work due to heavy visitor traffic. He said that David De Harport, a Harvard graduate student who had been doing archeological work at de Chelly since 1948, told him of increased vandalism and "pothunting." [86]

In November De Harport was writing archeological site descriptions that were included in his Ph.D. dissertation. [87] During the same month a plane table survey was completed of the campground and the area intended for expansion and was sent to the Washington office. Another survey also mapped the "control points of the Navajo cemetery located at the foot of the hill where the Visitor Center will be located. . . ." It was also sent to Washington. [88]

Berger reported in December that the total visitation for 1959 was 21,148. At the Thunderbird there had been 3,661 overnight guests during the year. Berger also reported that construction of the access road and parking area was progressing, and plans for the three new residences had been received and reviewed. [89]

The annual wildlife report for 1959 revealed that during the summer two bears were killed by the Navajos in retaliation for losses of sheep. Skunks were on the increase, as were porcupines and coyotes. Rabbits, however, were on the decline due to Navajo hunting. [90]

Unusually cold weather struck at the beginning of 1960 and hampered visitation and construction work. Toward the end of January Berger made some interesting comments on the interpretive services at de Chelly. He stated that all visitors who stopped and registered received orientation talks and also could partake in tours (a 12-person minimum requested) and campfire talks. There were informational and

directional signs on highways leading to the monument as well as signs on all the overlooks except Tsegi Overlook. In addition, a self-guiding trail booklet was available at the White House Overlook. [91]

Progress on construction of the parking area and access road to the visitor center was approximately 75 percent completed by the end of February, and the installation of water and sewage systems was about 90 percent completed. [92]

Justin La Font, from Prewitt and Albuquerque, New Mexico, visited the Thunderbird Ranch in March as a possible buyer. [93] A financial report issued for the Thunderbird estimated its net worth at \$98,113.50. [94] Other information revealed that the Thunderbird could accommodate 24 overnight guests each evening. [95]

Also during March, Berger stated that there were no traffic counters at de Chelly because of the large amount of local Indian traffic. He also received a request from David Dornan to climb Spider Rock. [96] Berger stated that Spider Rock had previously been scaled in 1956 by a group from the Sierra Club. He refused this later request because certain "superstitions" surrounded Spider Rock, and the Navajos "in the immediate Spider Rock area are still working on the 'Spook' or 'Hex' placed upon them during the 1956 climb." [97] However Berger did record that a successful ascent of Spider Rock was made on April 13 by two other individuals from the Sierra Club. [98] The two had failed to register or to get permission for the climb. [99]

On May 31 the Thunderbird Ranch was sold to La Font, who assumed ownership on June 1. [100] La Font still needed approval from the Park Service and the Navajo Tribal Council, however. He reportedly paid \$110,000 for the Thunderbird. [101]

Construction work was forging ahead. Bids had been received and accepted for the following: residence and bulk l.p. gas systems \$60,075, completed on May 23, 1960; parking areas and access roads \$85,721.12, completed on July 12, 1960; and the comfort station \$11,684, completed on June 8, 1961. [102] Concern also existed over the campground road extension. Apparently a change in the plans had been suggested and the regional director, Thomas J. Allen, was against such a move. He stated that "previous plans called for extensions by constructing an additional loop to the northwest and by adding a short section of road through the center of the existing loop." He wanted to keep this scheme. [103] Furthermore, Allen stated that "although the existing Indian cemetery is not located on the drawing, it is our recollection that the road line shown for future expansion enters that restricted area." [104]

Four pinon trees were removed in June from the Spider Rock area because of "Ips" infestation. [105] Also during the month a complaint was made against the physical facilities at Canyon de Chelly by J. P. Dods, who had previously visited the area in 1913. [106] Dods complained of the lack of signs, the bad roads, the bad accommodations at the Thunderbird, the bad rim road, the shabby and old cars used for canyon trips, and the disinterest of the superintendent and ranger toward him. He asked if something could be done to improve these deficiencies. "Present conditions," he said, "are a disgrace to the National Park System." [107]

Berger replied to the criticism by stating that due to the construction going on at the time of Dod's visit,

several things were abnormal. He said that the Thunderbird had recently purchased two Jeep station wagons that were in good condition, and apologized for any inconvenience. [108]

During September Berger assisted with the Park Service exhibit at the Navajo Tribal Fair at Window Rock, Arizona. The exhibit explained the Park Service-Navajo relationship and cooperation on certain matters. Berger reported that the exhibit attracted many people. [109]

An interpretation service change also occurred during September. The White House Trail pamphlets were discontinued, and in their stead, a lettered interpretive device was to be placed at the stand on White House Overlook. [110]

Visitors who came to Canyon de Chelly to camp overnight could utilize the 14 tent sites or the four trailer sites. There were no water, sewer, or electrical hookups for the trailers, but there were tables, fireplaces, refuse containers, and restroom facilities. [111]

Two additional reports filed in September described facilities at de Chelly. On the office porch were interpretive displays consisting of a map of the area, photographs, and instructions on "what to do and see at Canyon de Chelly National Monument." Another display contained cards and publications for sale. [112] In addition, there was the seven-panel multiplex display containing 14 exhibits on such things as geology, plant life, the early Navajo country, photographs of the major ruins, campaigns and treaties, maps of the Navajo country, Navajo handicrafts, and Navajo ceremonials and sites. [113] Commenting on Berger, Regional Director Thomas J. Allen remarked that he "has a good relationship with the Navajos and officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs." [114]

The other report contained information on the physical plant, personnel, and future plans. It described the superintendent's office, a 10- by 12-foot room, as "not conducive to efficient work." The superintendent lived in the only residence, built in the 1930s, and the ranger lived in a trailer. [115] The maintenance man and a laborer, both Navajos, lived in their own homes nearby. In addition, there were comments on the new construction that would greatly improve the area. [116]

The Thunderbird Ranch underwent some remodeling after its new owner, La Font, was duly authorized and accepted by the National Park Service. The front porch of the lodge was made into an office and waiting room for guests. Other changes consisted of new cement flooring and new shelving. [117] An inspection was made of the Thunderbird in September, and findings indicated that most of the operation was satisfactory, except that greater care in cleaning the meat cutting equipment and in cleaning the tables in the cafe was needed. [118] The problem of broken bottles was being solved by ordering soft drinks in cans. Also, La Font stated that he was planning to eliminate the family-style service in the lodge dining room because of a reduction in the number of overnight guests. [119] La Font still had not received permission from the Navajo Tribal Council for a concession contract, although Berger expressed satisfaction at and approval of La Font's management. [120]

Finally the Navajo tribe consented to the concession contract. [121] La Font's plan of changing family-style dinners to restaurant-style dinners was approved. However, Berger was cautioned that if La Font planned

new construction or structural changes at the Thunderbird, he needed the approval of the Park Service. [122]

The contract contained the requirement that "the concessioner pay to the Navajo Tribe a franchise fee of 1-1/2% of gross receipts or \$300, whichever is greater." [123]

In November two events occurred pertaining to Indian affairs. The first concerned a search for a Hopi shrine carried out in Canyon de Chelly and Monument Canyon by Dr. Ned Danson and two Hopi Indians. The discovery of the shrine was necessary to substantiate their claim in a Hopi-Navajo lands case that was before a Federal court. The shrine was not found. [124]

The other incident revolved around an Indian woman who sold a cup to a visitor for \$4. This violated Park Service rules, and the cup was confiscated. It was later found to be an artifact from the 13th or 14th century. It was kept at Canyon de Chelly and later sent to the archeological center in Globe. [125]

At the end of November, proposals were made for future research projects at Canyon de Chelly. Among the work was a continuation of De Harport's survey and Tse-Ta'a salvage, salvage and stabilization work at Mummy Cave, and an ecological study of the Navajos' adaption to the Canyon de Chelly region. [126]

As the year ended, 20,544 visitors to de Chelly were recorded. The three new residences were completed, and the new comfort station was almost finished. [127] An agreement also was made with the Bureau to work on a hazardous section of the south rim road in Canyon de Chelly, especially because a school bus carried 60 or more children to and from school on this road. [128] Another Bureau project involved paving the road between Chinle and Canyon de Chelly. Berger believed that this would be a "very worthwhile project." [129]

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## CHAPTER 9: THE RETURN OF GUILLET, 1963-1966

The crisis in relations between the Park Service and the Navajo tribe came to a head late in 1962. A retrospective account, which Meredith Guillet sent to the new director, George Hartzog, in December 1964, provides an overall picture of conditions and how the Service tried to meet them:

Lack of success in negotiations with the Navajo Tribe over the last twelve years, and antagonism toward the National Park Service by a certain faction of the Tribal Council had caused some concern to former Director Wirth. At the dedication ceremony for the Four Corners Monument in the Fall of 1962, Secretary Udall was approached by certain members of the Navajo Tribal Council seeking his support for legislation to return Canyon de Chelly National Monument to the Tribe. The apparent antagonism to or distrust of National Park Service Policy had led to several Tribal Council resolutions, among which were one prohibiting the establishment of any more National Parks or Monuments on Tribal Lands, and one to use every effort possible to return Navajo, Rainbow Bridge and Canyon de Chelly National Monuments to the Tribe. There was an apparent breakdown in our relations with the Tribe that was forming a formidable barrier to acquisition of additional lands needed for development of Navajo and Rainbow Bridge National Monuments as well as right-of-way over certain Tribal Lands. The above, coupled with complaints by other interested parties, led to my being called to Washington in late November 1962, by Secretary Udall and Director Wirth. I was chosen because many years of my life had been spent among the Navajo People both before and after I entered the National Park Service, and it was felt that I was best qualified for this assignment.

The duties of my new assignment, as broadly stated by Secretary Udall, were to improve the image of the National Park Service, and establish (or re-establish) good 'grass roots' relations with the rank and file of the Navajo People. One primary objective was the facilitating of land exchange legislation and cooperative agreements at Glen Canyon National Recreation Area.

It was agreed that an Assistant Superintendent position (GS-11) would be established to handle the 'leg work' of running the [Canyon de Chelly National] Monument allowing me more time for Indian Relations work. The Secretary requested and Director Wirth concurred, that in matters of enough importance there might be a bypassing of regular channels of communication, although such has not occurred to date. It was agreed that the success of this assignment required a broader leeway in choice of personnel, as well as other action

concerning relations with the Tribe, than would ordinarily be granted. I was specifically instructed to encourage the employment of Navajo Indians whenever and wherever qualified applicants were available.

I was in Washington for a week during which time I was briefed on the status of certain land negotiations, etc., and prepared a memorandum of recommendations on certain items which I felt necessary for the success of the assignment. These recommendations were approved by the Director and Secretary Udall. I will not enumerate them. [1]

With the return of Guillet in January 1963, conditions at Canyon de Chelly underwent a radical change. Relations with the Navajos especially on the local level, improved dramatically. Guillet's primary responsibility was to be the handling of relations with the Navajos. He would have his son-in-law, John E. Cook, as his administrative assistant so that he could devote more time to the problems encountered. [2]

Until Guillet arrived, Ranger Roy Rainey was acting superintendent. [3] There had been changes at Chinle since Guillet was last stationed there, but it was still a relatively remote area. The only shopping facilities were trading posts with limited merchandise. Public Health Service medical facilities were available only in cases of extreme emergency, and all other medical services had to be obtained at Ganado, while dental care was available no closer than Gallup. The only churches were the Catholic, Mormon, and Presbyterian missions. Television reception had recently been made possible by a relay translator. [4]

There are hints in Guillet's early monthly reports that more than Navajo relations had suffered during the months preceding his return. For February he reported merely that "a great deal has been accomplished in generally improving the administration of the area, particularly as related to improved relations with the Navajo Tribe and others." [5]

His monthly report for March was somewhat more explicit:

A great deal of time has been consumed in straightening out the general administration of Canyon de Chelly from accounting to filing. . . .

We have requested authority for 6 additional WAE laborers in order to get long needed maintenance accomplished while it can be done. [6]

He was allowed the increase in maintenance personnel, thus doubling his force, and also secured a promotion for David Gorman. For April he mentioned the "continued improvement of administrative control and training of employees." [7]

In all this there is a strong implication that Berger, frustrated in his efforts to maintain good relations with the Navajos and unable to understand why he failed, had become so discouraged that other aspects of management had also suffered.

There was little that Guillet could do for relations at the tribal level at first. In an upset election Raymond

Nakai had recently replaced Paul Jones as tribal chairman and it would take some time for the new administration to become settled, particularly since many of the old delegates to the tribal council had been reelected and were expected to oppose great changes. Guillet felt that it would be well to wait until the political situation stabilized before approaching tribal officials. [8]

In the meantime he reestablished his friendships with the Navajos he had known before and made a horseback trip up del Muerto to assess wind damage to homes and irrigation ditches by a recent storm. [9]

There was very little that happened at the monument that did not affect the local Navajos in one way or another, however, and Guillet turned his attention to building rapport at the grass-roots level.

An interagency cleanup campaign was initiated in February. Guillet did not assume that merely because the local Bureau and Navajo agencies were involved he would automatically have cooperation from local Navajo residents. Before attempting to clear the rim of old car bodies and other trash, he got permission from the people living along the rim drive. [10] By the following month he was able to report success:

General cleanup of the area was accomplished with the cooperation of the Indians and the BIA. Many of the old car wrecks and bodies scattered near the Hogans along the Rim Drive were hauled off and the general appearance of roadways improved by cleaning up all trash. [11]

The reorganization of the interpretive program reflects his imagination in taking Navajo matters into consideration in all facets of his administration while trying to improve services to the general public. Expansion of services included assigning a ranger to guide tours of the canyons for visitors who came in their own 4-wheel-drive vehicles and initiating interpretive talks on the rim. The interpretive staff was also given the job of training drivers for the Thunderbird tours and the local Navajos who served as guides for parties entering the canyons by foot, horseback, and wagon. It was even proposed that campfire talks be given in both English and Navajo. Guest speakers, including Navajo tribal rangers, would be invited to participate in evening programs. [12] A special permit was instituted to better control travel within the canyons. [13] The regional office, however, felt that the continued requirement of a permit for this purpose would necessitate a change in the established regulations. [14] Guillet explained his reasons for instituting the procedure and apparently continued to use the permit system. As he described the situation,

Many people read articles concerning travel in Canyon de Chelly by Navajo wagons. Several of the articles even list the names of local Indians who have wagons available for this type of experience, and due to this many people have dealt directly with those same Indians. Accordingly they are entering the canyons within the law: either with a guide (most of the Navajos who provide these services are also authorized guides) or as a personal guest of the Navajo providing the service. The latter we now have no control over. The proposed permit would allow us to get a chance to contact these people, inform them of regulations and provide interpretive services as well as preventive law enforcement.

Another problem is our local "Sunday" travel from surrounding communities. These people

do not consider themselves visitors and thus create a situation which our proposed permit, added to existing regulations, can help overcome. At present a new sign appears at the mouth of the canyon which quotes [sic] the regulation. [15]

His arguments were convincing, and so the regional director recommended changing the regulations. [16] Whether further action was taken is not known. The only formal visitor complaint a very mild one to this increased vigilance came from John W. Kennedy, an Indian trader in Gallup, and Guillet was able to explain his need for new restrictions to this longtime friend with little difficulty, noting that

We do not believe our restrictions will in any way detract from the enjoyment of the canyon by visitors not interested in vandalizing ruins. It [sic] will also serve to prevent misunderstandings with, and irritation of the Navajo Indians residing in the canyons. [17]

A report on illegal digging for archeological relics had been received from De Harport, and Guillet requested information on the problem from the canyon residents. He thought De Harport's allegations exaggerated, but conceded that there was some basis for concern. [18] In April Guillet and Cook had accompanied De Harport on tours of Canyon de Chelly and del Muerto as well as of the Hosbidibito outside the monument to investigate "possible violations of the Antiquities Act." The result of this inspection was an effort by the Bureau and the tribe to have a United States commissioner assigned to the reservation to try violations of Federal laws. [19] This effort was not successful, although Guillet supported the idea in various later reports. To further control travel within the canyons, daily patrols were instituted. [20]

The empty parking lot next to the site of the planned visitor center was apparently a natural place for the tourists to congregate. Guillet obtained a trailer, which he parked there as a contact station so that all visitors could be given orientation. [21]

All of these initial innovations showed early signs of success. New markers were needed to inform the visitors. The trailer station not only gave Archeologist Archer W. Stewart more space for his work, but met the need for better contact with visitors. The patrols did bring about a reduction in uncontrolled entry into the canyons. Guillet and Cook joined with Tribal Ranger Larry Benally in presenting a program to the local PTA explaining the new policies. It was so well received that they were asked to repeat the performance in the fall. [22]

Most dramatic of the changes was that made in personnel policies. Guillet made a real effort to hire Navajos not only in maintenance positions, but also as rangers. The first to enter on duty was Seasonal Ranger Jimmy Begaye on April 30. [23] In June he was able to add Shirley Sells and Leon Shirley to the seasonal staff of rangers and hire Helen Draper as seasonal clerk-typist. [24]

A new tribal program gave him further opportunity to expand Navajo representation: This was a student trainee program by which the tribe hired college students and assigned them to work in tribal and governmental agencies that requested them. [25] Through this program he hired Frank Pablo in accordance with a letter of agreement negotiated between the Park Service and the Tribal Division of Personnel on June 21. [26]

Guillet also initiated a thorough training program for all personnel, both white and Navajo, which gave special attention to Indian affairs. [27] With this increased staff, Guillet was able to offer additional interpretive services as visitation increased. On June 22 a ranger was stationed at White House to meet tourists who hiked to that point. At first this was done on an experimental basis, but was received so favorably that it became a regular feature whenever manpower was available and visitation warranted it. Seasonal personnel were also assigned to accompany parties on extended (apparently overnight) trips into the canyons. Regular programs were not neglected and campfire talks were given every evening. [28]

When Supervisory Park Ranger Roy Rainey resigned in July, Leon Shirley was assigned his duties in an acting capacity and performed very well. [29]

In August a new overlook was established on the south rim at White Sands by grading a new access road and parking area. [30]

The success of Guillet's efforts in hiring young Navajos in interpretive positions is best attested by Regional Archeologist Charlie Steen's observations resulting from a visit to the canyon in August:

The thing which impressed me most at the monument was the 100% Navajo seasonal interpretive force. These young people, one woman and two men, are pleasant and personable and apparently are doing an outstanding job. They seem to typify the completely changed atmosphere at the monument. [31]

Archeologist Stewart had much to do, but one job required a considerable portion of his time, although travel restrictions limited what he could accomplish. [32] This involved assisting in the preparation of exhibits for the future visitor center. Early in the year Steen had gone to Boulder to select items from the Morris Collections at the University of Colorado Museum that would be included in these exhibits. In May, Joe Ben Wheat issued these a dozen artifacts, including perishable specimens of wood and fiber as well as pottery, stone, and shell specimens on indefinite loan to the monument, shipping them to the Park Services's western museum laboratory in San Francisco, where the exhibits were being prepared. [33] Jenkins requested that the area send him up-to-date reference materials on the Navajos for use in exhibit preparation, [34] and so he was sent the last issue of the Navajo Yearbook on loan. Guillet had requested further material from the tribe, but when it was not provided he judged the political scene at Window Rock was still too unsettled, and decided not to push the request. [35]

Stewart's duties in this regard were next devoted to a search for the photographs needed by the museum laboratory. [36] In this he had some success, but by October the work had lagged so that Supervisory Ranger Franklin Wallace, who had replaced Rainey, was given a week free of all other duties in order to acquire the remainder. [37] The laboratory was having difficulties with the Anasazi exhibits and various changes were suggested. [38] While on annual leave Stewart visited the laboratory and discovered that changes had been made in exhibits and texts without informing the area staff, and so he obtained copies for Guillet. [39]

Additional work to expand the interpretive program was apparently being accomplished in the regional

office where, it was reported, an area history handbook was to be "reworked." The monument lacked any copy of this manuscript or knowledge of it, but suggested that a manuscript entitled "Anasazi, Din'ne, Bellicanah," by Wesley Hurt, Jr., and James Spuhler, might serve the purpose if properly edited. [40] Little seems to have come of this project at this time, however.

A completely new element in visitor handling resulted from building the Tsaile Dam on the headwaters of Canyon del Muerto. Guillet reported briefly on the matter in June:

The new Tsailie Dam on Tsailie Creek above Canyon del Muerto is progressing rapidly and has started backing up water. This dam is for Recreation purposes primarily, but should serve also to control flood waters in Canyon del Muerto. It will undoubtedly accelerate [sic] road construction from the lake to Chinle and will probably follow the present location of the North Rim Road near Canyon del Muerto. This will hasten the need for a bridge over the canyon near our new Visitor Center. [41]

The dam was completed about July 1. A large part of the lake was within the monument boundary, but its construction was done by the Bureau and the tribe, the Park Service having no jurisdiction over any aspect of the lake. The lake was well stocked with trout and the tribe was publicizing it in an effort to develop the area for tourists. [42] Guillet reported increased use of the rim areas of the upper portions of the canyons by July because of the lakes, implying that Wheatfields Lake, outside the monument boundaries, was also a factor. [43] Early in August a complaint was received from Navajo farmers in "the canyon" that "large cottonwoods were drawing moisture from their farm lands," and thinning was recommended to reduce the ground moisture loss. [44] The report does not specify which canyon was involved, but it seems a reasonable assumption that if it were del Muerto the major cause might well have been the interference with the normal flow of water by the new dam rather than transpiration by the trees, although reduction of the canyon vegetation probably alleviated the situation somewhat.

By August the monument staff was giving serious thought to the problems posed by the growing visitation at the upper ends of the canyons. It was concluded that rangers would be required at Tsaile Lake and upper Canyon de Chelly in 1964, and two trailers were requested to make this feasible. While ultimate establishment of districts within the monument was contemplated in the master plan, events were moving too rapidly to permit a delay. [45] Shortly after this an inspection report by Charlie Steen supported the recommendation:

The tribe has practically surrounded the monument with a Recreational Area and one feature of this is a dam on Tsali [sic] Creek which will create a lake large enough for boating and fishing. The dam is within the monument boundaries and only a few miles above Mummy Cave. We will soon need both interpretive and protective personnel on the Canyon del Muerto arm of the Monument. [46]

In September the monument still reported that the Park Service was not involved in any aspect of the activities at Tsaile Lake. [47] Just after the end of the year Guillet's summary of the matter as it then stood appeared in an "Annual Fishery Resources Report-1963":

This dam was constructed, legally, within the boundary of Canyon de Chelly National Monument by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under an APW program and the Navajo Tribe. Upon its completion all jurisdiction as to use of the water, etc. was assumed by the Tribe. This service has no jurisdiction in any respect as it pertains to this lake. However, since this development greatly effects [sic] our own planning etc. we are submitting the narrative portion of the above subject report.

. . . . .

Since the Service has no jurisdiction we take no part in enforcement of fishing regulations which are a combination of State and Tribe in nature.

. . . . .

Since we are not, and prefer it so, consulted or often even informed of activities as to fishing within the area's boundary this report is for information purposes.

In summary we:

1. Have recreational fishing within the area,
2. Have nothing to do with its management
3. For now prefer it that way. [48]

The growth of the Chinle community was also a subject of concern, although it was not yet an immediate problem. In June Guillet mentioned in connection with "Tribal relations" that

Committees for the Overall Economic Development Program have been established and are busily engaged in establishing zoning and other regulations, Federal Housing Developments and other necessary steps to make the investment of outside capital attractive. Chinle has been chosen for a pilot area in Urban Development. Assistant Superintendent Cook is a member of the local committee. [49]

Enthusiasm at Window Rock and locally at least among whites apparently ran high, for Steen, in his investigation report in August, said that a new town, "Chinle City:" was being developed, which would include "a large tourist center." [50] Cook's duties in this regard seem to have brought him more in contact with Bureau personnel, such as Chinle Subagency Superintendent Krause, and potential investors, including Del Webb Enterprises, which was contemplating building a "super deluxe motel," than with local Navajos. [51] It was reported that Sam Day III had "purchased" the surface use of 6-1/2 acres of the grazing allotment of Anson Bahe Benally (Anson Bahe) for the site of a service station, [52] but in general local Navajo involvement in these plans seems to have been minimal.

Guillet waited until May 6 to write Nakai and attempt to establish a working relationship with the new tribal administration, explaining that he realized that he (Nakai) had been busy with his new responsibilities, and asking for an appointment with him. [53] The meeting was delayed, but the Navajo Tribal Parks Commission, under Chairman Sam Day III, visited the park and was given a tour of the canyons and of Navajo National Monument by Guillet and Cook, and Park Service programs and policies were explained. Guillet believed that this resulted in "a definite change in their general attitude toward the National Park Service." [54]

Guillet also worked with Day on plans for the development of the Manuelito area as a park under the tribe's supervision. [55] It was not until October 8 that Guillet was actually able to meet with the chairman himself, and the meeting served to accomplish little more than allowing the two men to become acquainted. Political turmoil within the tribe reached a peak when Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall suspended the tribal attorney Norman Littell, and the Bureau seized some tribal records in the same month. [56] This was followed by a court injunction obtained by Littell, and Nakai's issuing of a "white paper" to explain his actions against the attorney. Despite the furor, Guillet was able to arrange for a meeting, tentatively scheduled for the following year, which would bring together the Service, Bureau, and tribal officials. [57]

In the meantime many more routine affairs needed and received attention. When Chauncey Neboyia applied for permission to dig a well on his farm in the canyon, Guillet wrote the tribal water development office that

Section "2" of the act establishing Canyon de Chelly National Monument states that these rights are reserved for the Navajo Tribe, and no special use permit will be needed from the National Park Service unless the well encroaches on an Archeological site or other object of Historical or Scientific interest. Since this well does not encroach on any of the above, we recommend that your office issue Mr. Neboyia a permit. [58]

Regulation of the concession operation at the Thunderbird Ranch continued under split jurisdiction. In April Marlow Glenn, regional chief of concessions management, conducted an inspection of the establishment with Guillet. He reported, erroneously, that prices at the trading post were regulated by the tribe, apparently due to confusion regarding tribal and Bureau roles. His primary concern was the inspection of a new 12-unit motel site. He found some discrepancies between prices charged and the approved schedule for the tourist services, for which he initiated corrective measures. Otherwise he was well satisfied with what he found and believed the La Fonts to be "eager to acquaint themselves with the Service's policies and abide thereby." [59] The amendments to the rate schedule were approved without difficulty, construction of the new motel proceeded rapidly, and business was booming. [60] Cook's annual fire hazard inspection found that the former poor practices at the concession buildings had been largely corrected, and he complimented the La Fonts on their improvements. [61]

Thunderbird Ranch was getting its water from the Bureau, and with meters recently installed, would be charged for full use, which was estimated to run about 2,050,000 gallons once the new motel was in operation. La Font began to consider drilling his own well, but Guillet believed that when he figured the costs he would not do so. [62] La Font did go ahead with his plan and submitted a request for permission to put in his own water system. Guillet phoned the regional office to inquire about it on September 8. He

received a reply shortly that the proposal was not approved. Besides stating that they considered the existing rates reasonable and the supply ample, the region made three other points: (1) La Font would still have to pay for sewage disposal, which was a part of the charge for water; (2) his well would be the property of the Federal Government; and (3) the tendency of such a project to give a concessioner a proprietary interest made strong justification necessary before approval would be given. [63]

The tourist season was not far advanced when a complaint was lodged against La Font's operation pertaining to the hours that the dining facilities were open, the prices charged for "junk" curios, and the cost of tours up the canyon bottoms. [64] The regional director suggested that a graduated rate scale based on the number of passengers for the jeep tours might help avoid repetitions of the complaint regarding canyon trips. [65] Cook found this suggestion reasonable and defended Thunderbird policies in the other matters. He concluded by stating that the concessioner was not without faults, but that the complaints in question were unjustified. [66]

The new motel was completed in July and the Thunderbird enjoyed a profitable year. [67] Offsetting the one formal complaint were the lithographs sent as tokens of thanks to both the concessioners and the National Park Service by a visiting artist, who had found everything he encountered at the monument especially good. [68]

Maintenance and construction activities continued, although it was difficult to keep up with the work load imposed by the heavy visitation. Cleaning of the campground was especially burdensome, and the repairing of wear and tear on easel exhibits at the overlooks had to be postponed until after travel slackened. [69] Gorman was in charge of the maintenance program and his work was highly praised, the difficulties encountered being duly recognized. [70]

Work on trails received special attention, which was gratifying to both Navajo residents and tourists. White House Trail was rehabilitated and work was also begun on Twin Trails. [71]

The major project initiated was the construction of the visitor center and another residence. An advertisement for bids was released June 3. [72] No bids were received, however, and it was decided to remove the restriction limiting bidders to "small businesses" in hopes that a large contractor then doing work at Chinle would submit a bid. [73]

The completion of Navajo Route 1, The Navajo Trail, and the opening of an all-weather road to the north, plus tribal plans in the tourist industry, caused concern on Guillet's part because of the effect the delays and the cancellation of all construction for Fiscal Year 1965 might have on tribal relations. He wrote

If our development to date and administration of this area had been such that the Navajo Tribe could have pointed to it with pride rather than viewing it with alarm, our position would be better in other areas of negotiation.

I feel that it is of extreme importance that we keep pace and even surpass other developments if we are to try to improve our relations and gain prestige for our Service. We now have the greatest opportunity yet presented to show the Tribe the economic benefits of a National Park

area to their overall development. We will be "on the spot" so to speak and we had better make the best of it. If we fall down here, we will find ourselves in no position to gain any future concessions from the tribe. [74]

The rapidly increasing visitation and slow progress brought strong criticism from Guillet, who wrote early in October:

This visitor center being 1963 F. [iscal] Y. [year] should have been constructed and occupied in 1963 actually much sooner, since the road pattern was developed to the site and has had a visitor flow to a vacant lot for over three years. [75]

The contract was awarded that month to the Flaugh-Slavens Company of Cortez, Colorado, not to the large contractor originally contemplated, and ground was finally broken on October 22. [76] Good weather continued into November and the work proceeded well. [77]

The soil and moisture program was also continued in the spring with the planting of 5,000 additional cuttings and the trimming of trees, whose brush was piled on new spider jetties. [78] The work continued to be done under the old agreement with the Bureau. [79] Other accomplishments under this program were the building of an erosion control dam at the head of Twin Trails and of 147 jetties protecting about 900 feet of stream bank. [80]

Protection became most urgent in the late afternoon of June 17 when the Navajo tribal forester in Window Rock called in to report a fire in the canyon. Guillet and Cook scouted the area and found the fire at Mule Trail. An initial force of five men, including Cook as fire boss, traveled up the canyon floor 14 miles and then hiked 3 miles to reach the blaze, which was so large that they sent for help. Dan Carroll brought equipment in by packhorse the next morning and was immediately added to the crew, although the fire had been brought under some control during the night. The reinforcements led by Ranger Rainey did not arrive until mid-morning, but the combined crews were able to control the fire by noon. The Bureau was not represented until a half hour later when William Ashley showed up with food for a 20-man, mop-up crew. The crew never did appear but the Park Service crews enjoyed a meal at Bureau expense. The men continued work until 6:00 P.M., June 20, when the fire was fully extinguished. As a result of this experience the area personnel thought that the agreement with the Bureau for fighting fires should be renegotiated. [81]

Wildlife control was performed by tribal employees. Two beavers doing extensive damage in the upper part of Canyon del Muerto were caught and transplanted to a remote mountain area. Bobcats bothering sheep in the same canyon also received tribal attention, but the trapper was unsuccessful. [82] An all-out effort by the Bureau, the Public Health Service, the tribe, and the public school district to round up stray dogs both inside and outside the monument received Park Service assistance, the dogs not faring as well as the bobcats. [83]

Pure research activity was limited to a visit by Roy L. Carison of the University of Colorado museum, who took photographs and made notes for use in the preparation of a report on Earl Morris's earlier work in the canyons. [84] Stabilization at Mummy Cave, however, begun on August 1 by Archeologists Richert and Voll, resulted not only in further repair and protection of the ruins, but in new archeological observations,

including the finding of prayersticks in the tower. [85] Steen visited, the job and reported their work "first rate," but he believed that more extensive stabilization was required. [86] The work was finished on September 2. [87] Damage by livestock was reported by Richert and was again noted in November, indicating the need for a fence. [88]

A final note on the events of the year should be on the apparent ability of the new ranger, Franklin Wallace, to get along with the local Navajos. Without specifying what was involved, Guillet in November praised him for handling with firmness and tact "situations which could have become unpleasant." [89] Later duties did definitely involve the Navajos, however, when he assisted two members of the Navajo Tribal Police investigating the shooting of three cows in Canyon de Chelly. [90]

The next year, 1964, brought greater involvement by Guillet in Navajo relations at the tribal level, but continual dissension within the tribal council and between the Secretary of the Interior and the tribal attorney hindered real progress on any of the more controversial issues facing the Service. [91]

Guillet's duties brought him a wide variety of matters for consideration. Early in the year he was asked to review plans for exhibits for a visitor center museum at Wupatki, and found it necessary to recommend changes that would prevent the Park Service from being suspect as taking sides in the conflicting land claims of the Navajos and Hopis. [92]

By the end of January he had completed arrangements for the meeting with tribal officials to explain Park Service policies. His programming suggests the source of some problems in tribal relations:

It was our concensus of opinion that some of the Tribal officials might get a better understanding of our policies and objectives by letting them listen and perhaps change their thoughts on certain things before presenting their talks, particularly Chairman Nakai. For this reason we scheduled them during the afternoon session. [93]

No report on the outcome of this meeting has been located, but the results were probably limited if the degree of Navajo participation in the master planning field study conducted from March 9 to 20 is any indication. The only Navajo participant and only representative of the tribe to take a significant part was Sam Day III, chairman of the Navajo Tribal Parks Commission. Bureau representation was considerably better, four delegates being present. [94] Despite the failure of tribal representatives to take a greater part in the planning process, tribal interests were not slighted, Sanford Hill noting that:

The memorandum of November 27, 1963 from Regional Director Beard to the Director emphasized the importance of preparing a complete planning study for Canyon de Chelly in order to correlate Service activities with those of the Navajo Tribal Council. The importance of this relationship was discussed in considerable detail during all phases of the study, which included a special meeting with representatives from The Bureau of Indian Affairs and from The Navajo Tribal Council. Evidence of the close interrelationship appears throughout the package. It is our understanding that Mr. Beard expects to use the approved plan as the instrument for encouraging cooperation with the Tribal Council in the solution of any mutual

problems. [95]

Beard's hopes were not without foundation. Guillet's concerns, however, were more immediate and he continued to advocate developing the monument along lines that would impress the Navajos with what the National Park Service could do and the benefits of having the area under its administration. He also believed that the tribal park system was providing a good channel for communication at the tribal level through the National Park System's role as advisor, a role that he felt would become more important as time passed.

Implementation of Guillet's ideas was hindered by financial constraints. The most urgent need, a bridge across the wash at the mouth of the canyon, had been postponed and only through personal contact with the director at a cocktail party at Grand Canyon was he able to expedite the project. There were several reasons why this bridge had high priority, according to Guillet.

Not only will it serve to better relations with the Tribe, but I believe that it may ultimately pay for itself in the portions of road along the North Rim that may be constructed by the BIA and the Navajo Tribe. The construction of this bridge would allow the closing of the Canyon del Muerto School as busses could then bring the students to Chinle. It would also possibly completely eliminate costly winding road construction necessary to stay within our boundaries. It might also eliminate right-of-way negotiations with the Tribe if roads might of necessity have to go outside Park boundaries.

Although unofficial, we have assurance that once the bridge was constructed, the BIA would see that at least the first nine miles of this road was built in order to save the cost of operating a separate school plant at Del Muerto [sic], and to provide all-weather school bus service to the Navajo children to Chinle. [96]

He gave further justification for the need to assign priorities to planned programs 2 days later:

With the development of Tsaile Lake Recreation Area at the head of Canyon del Muerto this previously relatively inaccessible area now presents an additional protection problem. This fiscal year (1964) it will be necessary to place a house trailer and Seasonal Ranger there. Without the bridge and when the wash is running, the 'attack' time is more than doubled from headquarters in the event of any emergency situation. Last, but no means least, is the public-Navajo relations aspect. This should perhaps rate first in our justification criteria. Prior to, and ever since the establishment of this area as a National Monument, the Service has been obligated to construct this bridge. This project was promised as early as 1931. Inasmuch as our actions here at Canyon de Chelly reflect the image of the Service throughout the Navajo Reservation and will have far reaching affects in our dealings elsewhere with them, this bridge assumes great importance. [97]

While these last arguments were quite reasonable, they imply events that it should be noted did not necessarily happen. The stationing of a ranger at Tsaile Lake had to be postponed another year, probably due to lack of adequate staffing. The promise to build the bridge at the time of the establishment of the monument is a more uncertain matter. Nothing to this effect appears in the contemporary documentation of

the 1920s and 1930s, but the full extent of verbal commitments made by various Park Service and Bureau officials at that time is far from clear in the records of the period. It is most probable that Guillet received his information in this regard from local Navajos. While a commitment to build a bridge at that time seems rather improbable, it may well have been made, and the reliability of Guillet's source must be left to his judgement in the absence of more detailed data.

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## CHAPTER 10: SONIC BOOMS AND PEOPLE PROBLEMS, 1966-1974

John E. Cook took over as superintendent on August 14, 1966. He was not only the superintendent of Canyon de Chelly, but also of Hubbell Trading Post, which was made a national historic site in 1967. The rationale given for this was as follows:

to improve management and manpower. . . . Both areas continue as separate units of the National Park system under a single manager. From a field point of view this is working out very satisfactorily. It is resulting in a reduction in the overall combined grade structure and better utilization of appropriated funds. [1]

Ranger Wallace reported that the National Park Service and the Navajo police had a good working arrangement and were assisting each other in curbing law violators. [2] In addition, a new Polaroid camera was obtained "for use in Protection patrols, accident investigation and reporting." Cook believed that it would "no doubt prove to be of great value in the field of protection." [3]

As the year ended at Canyon de Chelly, 344,347 visitors had been recorded for 1966. This was a sizeable increase over the 1965 total of 182,785. Visitor contacts for interpretive services totaled 89,842. [4]

One of the major problems during the late 1960s and early 1970s was that of sonic booms. Correspondence on this subject practically dominated the source material used during this period. The major concern of the Park Service and Canyon de Chelly officials was damage to the ruins. Beginning on August 11, 1966, a record was kept of the exact time and date that the sound barrier was broken over the canyons. Just from that date through October 6, 26 sonic booms were recorded. [5] The Navajos were aiding in this record keeping. One of them reported that a shock in Canyon del Muerto caused a large portion of overhanging cliff to fall, which damaged a cliff dwelling below. Cook was deeply concerned over this and recommended that "a full scale investigation should be made." [6]

Responses to this plea were encouraging. Chief Archeologist John M. Corbett stated:

We have discussed the matter with the Bureau of Land Management, and they are investigating to determine how much of a problem it may be on their lands. We also will explore this matter with the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

It is possible that a coordinated plea from several Interior agencies might have some effect on the Department of Defense. [7]

In addition, Regional Archeologist Albert H. Schroeder stated:

Apparently our suggestion that protection of the ruins from sonic booms is being explored with other agencies. We hopefully look forward to results that will reduce hazards of this type as a result of activities of the Department of Defense. [8]

The booms continued, however, and Cook reported that they were increasing. He submitted a report of the exact times and dates of the booms from August 11 to December 22. It revealed that there were 8 booms in August, 13 in September, 16 in October, 24 in November, and 22 in December. He concluded by stating that visitors and Navajos reported that the cliffs "vibrated" with each boom and furthermore, he was not only concerned with damages to the ruins and cliffs, but also feared for the fragile structures at Hubbell Trading Post. [9]

In January 1967 the sonic boom question at Canyon de Chelly finally received publicity, first a story in the January 10 issue of the Albuquerque Journal, which carried a front-page headline. Then the Associated Press and United Press International picked up the story and it received national coverage. Moreover, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall held a news conference on the problem. [10] Cook reported that the Department of the Interior, the United States Air Force, and the Federal Aviation Agency were discussing the situation. [11]

Secretary Udall's view on this issue was revealed in a letter to Secretary of the Air Force Harold Brown. Udall believed that

This is a growing problem, and one that carries with it the alarming threat of destruction or defacement of some of this nation's priceless natural and archeological heritage, as well as exposing thousands of visitors to possible injury.

Pending the outcome of planned discussions with the Air Force and the Federal Aviation Agency, he believed that

positive steps can be taken to ameliorate the impact of supersonic flights over National Park areas, and to outlaw low-level flights, which are also capable of causing damage to fragile geologic formations and prehistoric structures. . . . [12]

Yet the number of booms continued to mount. Wallace, as acting superintendent, reported that 29 booms were recorded in March. "Evidently," he wrote, "our protests in the past were not worthy of consideration." He was especially worried about the chance of injury to visitors from falling rock or collapsing walls. He said that if such a thing happened, it would not be "due to our lack of concern or lack of positive measures." [13]

By September Cook could report a total of 190 sonic booms recorded from August 11, 1966, to August 24, 1967. He stated that "although damage to structures and scenic features since that time cannot be definitely attributed to this activity, we remain genuinely concerned about this continuing problem and the possible long range effects." [14] In November Wallace reported on further possible sonic boom damage, which he had observed near Standing Cow Ruin on August 12. A large block of the cliff had broken loose and bounced twice on the way down with such force that only an expanse of fine white powder was left at the bottom.

The break occurred approximately 1/4 mile from the one reported on August 11, 1966, in which case Navajos reported a sonic boom at the time of the break. In both instances the slides occurred on the farm of Guy Yazzie Teller, a Navajo resident.

Upon investigation and questioning of the local Navajo people, the slide occurred "during the noon hour" on Thursday, November 9, 1967, at which time they observed a large cloud of white dust at the site. Our records show a recorded sonic boom at 12:50 P.M. of extreme density on that day.

Ironically, the latest slide happened above and partially covered one of the few main trails from the canyon floor to the rim. This trail has been used by local Navajo people almost daily during the summer months for many years. The slide did not obliterate the trail and it can be used; however, danger from falling rock is now extreme and continued use would not seem feasible.

. . . . .

Another factor that might well be taken into consideration is the very strong feeling of the resident of the farm below the slides. Mr. Guy Yazzie Teller feels that he should abandon the farm for the protection of himself and his family. He also has a strong feeling that he has committed some terrible wrong and this is his punishment. If he abandons the farm his ability to support his family is in question. [15]

Cook forwarded Wallace's report to Santa Fe with the recommendation that it be passed on to Washington, noting

15. Wallace to Supt., Nov. 15, 1967, C de C, W4618.

Mr. Teller is a non-English speaking Navajo who believes in the old ways and he is now quite worried. Thus, even in this "remote" country, possible sonic boom damage affects not only physical features but human relations. [16]

The July 5, 1968, issue of the New York Times carried an article on the effects of sonic booms in national parks in Arizona. Chief Ranger Kevin McKibbin was quoted as saying: "I've even seen them (the booms) move our front glass doors. Sometimes when they're really intense, they'll open a door." It was hoped that the booms would cease, and apparently, the article did help rouse people in high places, for very few booms

were recorded after November 1969.

On March 28, 1972, Acting Director Raymond L. Freeman was able to report that "the United States Air Force has issued a regulation prohibiting supersonic operations over all national parks." [17] For the year 1972 Rodney W. Harris, acting superintendent at Canyon de Chelly, could report no "physical damages due to sonic booms." [18] As late as January 1974 Assistant Director of Park Historic Preservation Robert M. Utley urged each region to forward information on sonic booms, stating:

It is strongly recommended that any adverse effect suspected to result from sonic booms be referred immediately to the office of the Chief Scientist. [19]

The monument has continued to keep records of each sonic boom as of the date of this writing.

Another movie company visited Canyon de Chelly from May 31 to June 8, 1967. The movie was McKenna's Gold, starring Gregory Peck and Omar Sharif. Approximately 75 people were included in the cast and crew. Cook reported that 16 local Navajos would be in the film. Filming took place at Spider Rock, White Sands, White House Trail, Canyon Junction, Tsegi Overlook, and at the canyon mouth. When describing the film, Cook wrote that the portion being filmed was

the end of the movie when McKenna and his girl friend find the Canyon of Gold, are chased by Apaches (played by Navajos), and are caught in an earthquake just after the gold is discovered. The earthquake is NOT being filmed here. [20]

Special activities in the Chinle area included two rodeos. The first, held on April 29, resulted in \$200 worth of damage to the campground comfort stations. [21] When the annual 4H Rodeo was held in May, the tribal police and rangers cooperated in a 24-hour patrol of the campground. [22]

The establishment of a justice of the peace court in Chinle had made arrests possible for traffic violations for some time, but this court was not utilized by the Park Service until May 1967. In that month two citations for speeding were issued to local high school students (both apparently non-Navajos), one of which resulted in a conviction and a \$10 fine. [23]

In 1967 the Code of Federal Regulations was amended to include a section pertaining to visitor use of the canyons. The purpose of the amendment was

to control public access to the canyons of Canyon de Chelly National Monument by requiring that all visitors be accompanied by National Park Service employees or authorized guides, except in such areas as the Superintendent may designate. [24]

In forwarding the draft for consideration at the area, the assistant to the Director, Frank E. Harrison, admonished:

Of course, the Superintendent is aware that Navajos exercising their statutory rights are not

subject to the requirements of this regulation. Our regulations, whether general or special, cannot be applied to prohibit rights given by treaty or statute. [25]

The proposed draft was published after the addition of a paragraph specifying that the "regulation in no way impairs or modifies the rights of the Navajo Tribe of Indians as already provided by Treaty and/or Statute." [26]

In March 1967, about the time that two new pits for trash disposal were dug, each 10 feet deep, 12 feet wide, and 500 feet long, Chief Ranger Wallace held a meeting in his office with chapter president Walker Norcross and a delegation of members of the Chinle Chapter to discuss trash disposal and sanitation. [27] Precisely what agreements were reached is not recorded, but it appears likely that the Park Service offered to allow families close to the headquarters area to use the pits in exchange for permission to locate the pits within traditional use areas of the Navajos. [28]

A special use permit for 1967 was issued to Marjorie Kaye Wilson, a Navajo, to rent horses to visitors. The permit was reissued yearly. It was issued with no charge, because Navajos had exclusive rights to rent horses according to the original legislation creating the monument. [29] Rental rates for horses were \$2.00 per hour. The tribe would not approve any permits unless the permittee had liability insurance. [30] In June Cook reported that the new permittee, doing business under the name of Canyon de Chelly Riding Stables, had recorded 157 rentals during the month. [31]

In June 1967 the final monthly report for Canyon de Chelly National Monument was submitted. Apparently this practice was becoming too burdensome and consumed too much "time and manpower." Cook was happy with the discontinuance of this responsibility, but felt a bit nostalgic about it also. [32] With the elimination of these reports, however, a valuable source of information for future researchers was lost.

Continuing to work closely with the Bureau, the Park Service signed an agreement for a joint road development project on the north rim of Canyon del Muerto. The distance was approximately 26 miles plus spur roads leading to three overlooks and the Tsaile Ranger Station. Each agency was to finance the main road equally, but the spur roads were to be financed solely by the Park Service. The plans and specifications for the rim drive were to be prepared by the Bureau, while the Park Service would prepare those for the spur roads. All right of way acquisitions, contracting, and construction supervision were to be the responsibility of the Bureau, which was also obligated to maintain the roads, while the costs of maintenance for the spur roads were to be charged to the Park Service. The main road would be carried on the real property records of the Bureau and the spur roads on the records of the Park Service. [33]

Cook also wanted to extend road construction of the south rim road another 11 miles to the Spider Rock Overlook, but needed approval of an easement from the Navajo tribe for 3 miles that were outside the monument. [34] The Bureau obtained the necessary right of way from the Navajo tribe, [35] but with stipulations. The tribe had presented the matter to the Chinle Chapter, which "consented to the granting of the right-of-way with the understanding that the road will be left open to the general public, to improve and enlarge the school bus service, and to develop economic potential of recreation and tourism." The tribe incorporated these requirements into its own grant of easement. [36]

At the end of 1967 Cook reported on the recreational opportunities available to visitors at Canyon de Chelly. He considered driving and sightseeing the outstanding activities and felt that existing facilities were adequate "only in minimal terms." There was fishing at Tsaile Lake, but the area was being used to capacity and besides was under tribal control. Water skiing, boating, and swimming were of little importance, the first two because of tribal regulations and the latter because of a "viral snail." Picnicking and camping were available, but these facilities saw little use in the winter. Not many people took nature walks or went horseback riding, and hiking was necessarily under very restrictive regulations. [37]

One activity that he did not mention was mountain climbing, but he may have considered this part of hiking. The restrictions on this particular pastime were very important, especially in regard to Spider Rock. In October he had had occasion to deny a request from the editor of ASCENT Magazine for permission to climb this spire. In explaining his refusal he stated that he was aware of five previous climbs, in 1956, 1960, 1961, 1964, and 1967, but noted that the last two were done illegally. He pointed out that all requests since 1961 had been denied

not because of danger, but in respect for the wishes of the Navajo people who consider this a sacred rock. The 1961 and 1967 ascents generated considerable bad feeling among many traditionalist Navajos who feel that their religious rights are being violated or made a mockery of. Both the National Park Service and the Navajo Tribal Rangers have been requested by the Navajo people to make every effort to eliminate all further ascents on this classic feature. [38]

Nonetheless, on November 24 another illegal climb was made. A visitor reported seeing a man on top of Spider Rock. Chief Ranger Wallace and Maintenance Man Kelly went to the site and apprehended the two violators. They were informed of their rights and agreed to sign a waiver and to talk. They said they were not associated with any specific organization and were unaware of the restrictions. Cook, in his report, said he believed them and let them go with just a warning.

To remedy the situation he planned to place more off limits signs at the base of Spider Rock and recommended that a letter be sent to ASCENT Magazine in hopes that they would carry an article about the illegality of climbing there. [39]

Subsequently a letter was written to ASCENT Magazine and also to SUMMIT Magazine. It explained why the climb was prohibited and asked that the magazines present this information to their readers. [40]

An article by O. F. Oldendorph, containing information on Canyon de Chelly, appeared in the May 1968 issue of National Parks Magazine. The sentiments of the author were reminiscent of those expressed in the 1930s concerning visitation. The author appeared to be upset with the influx of visitors because of paved roads. He believed that if roads to national parks were dirt highways, this would discourage the type of visitor who littered and caused unnecessary trouble. He declared:

Nothing discourages the overnight campground-hopper as much as fifteen miles of dirt road. Nothing else is so welcome to the truly interested visitor, for he knows that at the end of the rough road he will be camping with people who share his interest in the park. [41]

Progress can not be stopped so easily, however. Oldendorph, despite his recent visit to Navajo country, had failed to notice that the Navajos were no longer traveling by wagon and that their pickups were as much benefited by paved roads as were the tourists' vehicles; more so in fact, for the Indians traveled these roads regularly, while for most tourists the trip was made once in a lifetime.

Early in 1968 the Navajo Lands Group was organized with John Cook as general superintendent. [42] The group office was maintained at Chinle for some time, but was eventually moved to Farmington, New Mexico, when Arthur H. White succeeded Cook.

With the creation of the group office the new general superintendent had responsibility for many aspects of Navajo relations formerly handled by the area superintendent. This was especially true as long as the office remained in Chinle throughout Voll's tenure as superintendent. Later superintendents, from Cammack on, necessarily had to give more attention to local Navajo relations, but the general superintendent at Farmington retains considerable responsibility in local affairs and is most accountable for relations at the tribal level. [43]

A question arose over whether Canyon de Chelly was affected by the Wilderness Act of 1964. Cook believed that "Canyon de Chelly can never really receive wilderness consideration because of the legal status and because of the Navajo use thereof." [44] The director of the Southwest Region agreed with Cook. [45] These opinions were accepted in Washington and Canyon de Chelly was excluded from the provisions of the act. [46]

Several applications for land use permits were received by Cook and other superintendents of the monument. When one was sent in by Willie Willson, the Navajo Lands Group was asked by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to concur in the permit request. In doing so, the group's general superintendent stated:

We concur with the following stipulation; which is general for new permits within the monument and specifically for those so adjacent to the core visitor use area. "Any improvements or changes to or in this site are subject to the prior approval of the National Park Service, Canyon de Chelly National Monument, Chinle, Arizona."

This is really not a restriction but is just something that gives us the opportunity to review and be involved in any developments in the general headquarters area of the National Monument. [47]

Cook was disappointed over another permit issued to Amos Kee Yazzie to build on lands occupied by Anson Bahe Benally, across from the Park Service housing area, because he said that the Bureau in 1964 had assured the Service that "no additional development would take place in this general vicinity." He requested that "the subject lands be earmarked for eventual administrative withdrawal for National Park Service development purposes and that no further building be permitted on said lands." [48]

Superintendent William G. Binnewies received a homesite application from William and Mabel Hunter for

an area 1-1/2 miles east of the Thunderbird Lodge. Binnewies had no objections, since "the home will not infringe on park resources or values." [49] Therefore, the homesite grant was given to the Hunters. [50]

Other problems involved hookups to the Park Service water system. Binnewies reported that he denied two requests from Navajos for such hookups because

parks cannot sell or give away water unless it is for the direct or indirect use of the park or park visitor, and also because all local water hookups in the Chinle area are handled through the Navajo Tribal Utility Authority. [51]

He said that the Tribal Utility Authority was unable to provide water hookups to Navajo homesites east of the headquarters area because their distribution system stopped between the Thunderbird Lodge and the campground. If possible, they would furnish water service, but in these cases it could not be done. [52]

Problems arose due to misunderstandings about the water service. Binnewies informed certain Navajo applicants, such as Alice Hunter, Amos Yazzie, and Edith Yazzie, that the Park Service could not provide water for their homesites and recommended that they apply to the Tribal Utility Authority. [53]

Binnewies also granted temporary access to the homesite of Elizabeth B. Kelsey, which was east of the Park Service residential area and inside the farm lands of Irene Benally. Access was to be by way of the Park Service residential road and through the south end of the fence around Irene Benally's land. He said that an alternative route "should be worked out as soon as possible as the residential road is not designed for, nor designated as a public thoroughfare." [54]

On June 17, 1969, LaFont received permission from Raymond Nakai, Navajo tribal chairman, to close his trading post operation. LaFont was to continue the "remaining, operation in accordance with the present lease." [55] Closure of the trading post, which included ending gasoline and oil sales, was due to the incurrence of financial losses. To ensure that the Indian customers would not undergo hardships, Garcia's Canyon de Chelly Trading Post was to acquire all the remaining stock at full wholesale value after the Thunderbird closed officially on July 31. [56]

The closing of the trading post was to have an effect on tribal relations beyond the mere matter of shopping convenience. In 1970 negotiations were begun for renewal of the concessioner contract, the one then in force expiring on December 31, 1973. Frank F. Kowski, in a letter to Navajo Tribal Chairman Peter McDonald, explained the matter in some detail:

On July 26, 1972, a meeting between your representatives, the Concessioner and this office was held at Window Rock to discuss counter proposals made by the Navajo Tribe and the Tribe's further involvement as a party to the contract.

It is apparent that the Navajo Tribe became a third party to the original contract primarily due to the existence [sic] at the time, of a trading post operation by the concessioner. By letter of June 17, 1969, Raymond Nakai, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council, authorized closure of

the trading post.

Since the old trading post no longer exists, the primary interest of the Navajo Tribe as a third party to the contract has been eliminated. Therefore, any renegotiated contract should not include the Navajo Tribe as a third party thereto. This is borne out by the July 2, 1964, opinion rendered by Field Solicitor Gayle E. Manges wherein he states in part concerning the Act of February 14, 1931, establishing Canyon de Chelly National Monument: "It is my opinion that Congress stated in clear and unambiguous language that one of the exceptions to the Tribe's right to use the surface of the land for 'other purposes' is the right to use the surface of the land for the care and accomodation [sic] of visitors to the monument. To read into the clear language of Sections 2 and 3 of the act that the Indian retained the rights and duties of the Government set forth in Section 3 of the act is to ignore the unambiguous exception in Section 2 of the act, which reserved to the Indian the use of the surface of the land for purposes '\*\*\*except as hereinafter defined\*\*\*' The right of the National Park Service to provide for the care and accomodation of visitors to the monument is set forth in Section 3 of the Act of August 25, 1916, as amended (39 Stat. 535, 16 U.S.C., Sec. 3), as well as Section 3 of the Act of February 14, 1931. Solicitor's Opinion, 60 I.D. 214 (1948)".

Moreover, there is no authority by which the franchise fee which ranged between four and six thousand dollars annually, may be paid to the Navajo Indian Tribe. Therefore, under any renegotiated contract any such fee must be deposited into the Treasury to the credit of miscellaneous receipts, as set forth in 16 U.S.C. 452.

With the elimination of the Tribe as a party to the contract, this concessioner should be on the same basis as any other concessioner with respect to the franchise fee. . . .

. . . . .

Notwithstanding the foregoing, however, it should be pointed out that the existing contract vested certain rights in the Tribe, including the right to the franchise fee thereunder. These rights cannot be terminated except upon expiration of the contract by limitation of time on December 31, 1973. Therefore, the proposed new contract with Justin's, Inc. should be effective January 1, 1974, rather than to supersede and cancel the existing contract as originally proposed. [57]

Thus, with the expiration of the old contract, the concession came under exclusive Park Service regulation.

With increasing visitation and a growing local population, travel within the canyons has increased markedly. In a report prepared in April 1971, Cammack summarized the growth of this travel during the preceding few years. Navajos were estimated to make about 7,000 trips up the canyon per year, with an annual increase in their travel of about 10 percent. Travel by others, including both the concessioner's guided tours and those visitors who had their own 4-wheel-drive vehicles and hired guides, increased from 380 trips involving 3,800 people in 1965 to 1,060 trips involving about 9,000 people in 1970. An overall projected annual increase of 15 percent was predicted. Despite this volume of travel, only 6 illegal entries were noted for

1970 and the requirement that guides accompany all non-Navajos within the canyons kept trespass on Navajo farms to a minimum, although there was some concern expressed for possible damage to the ruins. Routine ranger patrols of the canyon seemed to curb the potential problems. [58] Spider Rock was still considered sacred and a new petition from the Navajos requesting that the Park Service continue to refuse permission to climb there was received. [59]

In 1973 Superintendent Binnewies submitted a proposed "back country management plan" for the area. After noting that the Park Service lacked any legal authority to regulate Navajo activities within the canyons, he listed the following rules for visitors:

1. Canyon Trails A permit and an authorized guide are required for visitor use of all trails except White House Trail. No motorized vehicle use of any trails is allowed.
2. Camping Overnight camping permitted only at Cottonwood Campground and Spider Rock Overlook campground. Camping within the canyons is not permitted unless the camper is the personal guest of a resident Navajo.
3. Vehicular Access Access by vehicle will be through the mouth of the canyon by permit, and limited to 4-wheel drive vehicles. No vehicular traffic will be permitted beyond the Draper Ranch in Canyon de [sic] Muerto nor beyond a point approximately 2 miles up canyon from Spider Rock in Canyon de Chelly.
4. Cliff Dwellings Access into cliff dwellings without a guide is allowed only at White House and Standing Cow ruins.

The objectives of these rules were as follows:

1. Protection of property rights and privacy of Navajo residents of the canyon.
2. Protection and interpretation of archeological resources.
3. Provide accurate data on visitor use of various parts of the park as a basis for impact studies.
4. Limit use of more primitive areas by practical controls for the purpose of minimizing impact.
5. Minimize adverse visitor exposure to unfamiliar natural hazards by requiring a guide familiar with canyon travel. [60]

Local population growth has caused new problems and aggravated old ones throughout the monument area. In a report submitted in August 1973 Binnewies pointed out that law enforcement in the campground was a growing problem requiring more regular patrols, that the demand for homesites was increasing both in the Chinle area and along the rims, that Navajo improvement of old foot trails into the canyons was sometimes destructive of scenic values, and that the Park Service was being blamed for the inability of the Utility Authority to provide water service to Navajo homes near the headquarters area. While he suggested solutions to some of these problems, he hoped that the forthcoming master-planning study would be a means of getting all the various local agencies and population segments together and of informing them of Park Service objectives. [61]

Only one other event of the last few years should be mentioned here: the major archeological project of stabilization and excavation at Antelope House under Don P. Morris, which began in 1970.

The Antelope House work was the result of an increased emphasis on archeological resource management under Cook and Voll, which has provided impetus for the better programming of maintenance and stabilization work at the ruins. [62]

This very brief survey of the years since the end of Guillet's second tenure as superintendent concludes the history of the monument at this time. These years are so recent that no true historical perspective is yet possible, and whether the issues that we have selected to mention here will indeed prove to have a significant effect on the future course of park operations at Canyon de Chelly can only be determined by future events.

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# Canyon de Chelly

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## CHAPTER 11: CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

As has doubtless become apparent in the preceding chapters, the unifying theme in the story of Canyon de Chelly National Monument has been that of relations with the Navajos with the canyon residents, the tribe as a whole, and at various levels between these extremes. Many events that would seem to have had no bearing on this theme, such as the problem of the Air Force and its sonic booms, seem inevitably to have involved the native population. Even those developments that do not evidence Navajo involvement must often have been subject to the scrutiny of Navajo observers, who, albeit, often felt they had no way to inform the distant powers in "Washindon" of any objections or suggestions they might have had.

Conditions have changed greatly through the years, but the essential elements of cultural differences, the conflicts these are capable of generating, and the means by which they can be resolved have not been altered in any basic manner. Effective and honest exchange of ideas and feelings between Navajos and non-Navajos remains the vital factor for any policy or program in which the two peoples are to work successfully together for any extended period.

When the monument was established most Navajos spoke only their own language. In 1920 only about 25 percent of school-age Navajo children were actually enrolled students and as late as 1930 the figure had increased to only 46 percent. [1] Today the majority of Navajos are literate in English, but there are many who have little or no skill even in spoken English. Navajo is still the household language for most Navajo families. While a high degree of ability in the use of English can be a valuable asset to Navajos who aspire to leadership positions, many very influential and knowledgeable leaders function, on the local level especially, with little or no knowledge of the national language. It will remain important to the monument to have personnel fluent in Navajo for quite some time to come if it is to maintain good communication with the local people. When the area had only one permanent position, the custodian himself worked so closely with his Navajo maintenance man that he was able to keep in touch with Navajo affairs to the degree necessary. With the overwhelming growth of visitation, the increasing complexity of problems to be dealt with, and a larger staff the need for a Navajo speaker at a higher level appeared, even if it was not fully realized at first. One of the keys to Guillet's success was his ability to communicate with local Navajos in their own language. This is not especially apparent in the documented history, but interviews with Navajos who remember his superintendency or who spoke of current Park Service affairs frequently emphasized the importance of this. [2] It should be remembered that ability to speak a foreign language does not necessarily give a person confidence to use it in stressful or business situations. Even Navajos with a fair command of English for social use will sometimes insist upon the aid of an interpreter if they feel a matter requires precise communication and understanding.

Linguistic capability alone cannot assure smooth relations in intercultural dealings. When the time comes that all Navajos speak at the very least good colloquial English, differences in values and world view will still exist. These differences may well be far more subtle than they are today, but they will nonetheless influence the degree of intercultural understanding that can be achieved. While more Navajos will be full converts to Christianity, there will probably always be those who are adherents of their own faith and some who will give some allegiance to both. For all, the past, as expressed both in the sacred lore of the tribe and in history, will be significant. The availability of Navajo religious tradition in published works in both languages, coupled with an increasing level of literacy, will probably result in more Navajos having a greater familiarity with this body of knowledge than ever before. Places considered holy because of associations with the Navajo deities and those significant in the history of the tribe will continue to be meaningful to almost all Navajos. Canyon de Chelly and its environs will not lose their importance in this respect.

The patterns of residence within the monument may undergo drastic alterations, but there will still be Navajos for whom the canyons are home. Respect of their right to privacy and to follow whatever lifestyle they may choose will still be required as long as the National Park Service administers the area. Any attempt to tailor the Navajo way of life within the canyons to what is thought to be the tourists' expectations will inevitably lead to serious complications and perhaps to charges of manipulating the local population for devious ends.

The line between cooperation and manipulation can be extremely hazy for an administrator who must show some results for the approval of superiors men who sometimes lack an understanding of the patience and time required in gathering together and studying all views before decisions are made and actions taken in cross-cultural contexts. Under these pressures tact can gradually fade into diplomacy, thence to manipulation, and ultimately to coercion. Despite the problems of poverty, health, education, and discrimination that face so many Navajos, perhaps the one trait that Navajos most resent in whites is their tendency to take over and run things in their own way. The present movement toward Navajo control of more and more of the activities in Navajo country is the expression of very deep-seated emotions and even if it should suffer setbacks will not be a passing fad. [3]

The policies implemented by Guillet in improving Park Service-Navajo relations in the 1960s may not be entirely applicable in situations that will arise in the future, but contemplation of their success suggests that certain basic features can be guidelines even in changing situations. Guillet has been criticized for being paternalistic in his dealings with the Navajos. In some ways the charge does have a degree of truth, but the conditions under which he worked and the nature of white-Navajo relations at that time and place doubtless justified many actions that in Anglo eyes are judged paternalistic. It may safely be assumed that he also found himself entering situations so fully Navajo in cultural content that, even with his extensive knowledge and experience in the Navajo world, had not certain Navajo friends dealt with him in a paternalistic fashion, realizing his shortcomings in such circumstances, he would have suffered at the very least discrimination and perhaps failure in some of his undertakings. When some whites comment that some Navajos are "like children" they fail to realize that the behavior on which they base this conclusion is that of Navajos poorly educated in Anglo ways trying to function in a society not their own. Even less understood is the reciprocal fact that if they were to take part in internal Navajo affairs of any sort they would soon find themselves reduced to an equally childlike role in which their dependency on guidance from sympathetic tribesmen

would become very important. Any who doubt this can be quickly convinced if they make a sincere effort to participate fully in a Navajo religious ceremony.

There is indeed a difference between paternalism and actions that give reassurance and aid to one of another culture. In some cases identical actions can be either one or the other. The difference lies not entirely with the action itself, but also with the attitudes of those acting and the values of the recipient culture. An important question must be answered in order to fairly judge Guillet's work. That is, did he give various sorts of aid to Navajos in order to buy their support and make them feel dependent upon him and the National Park Service, or did he do so in order to create the kind of symbolic kin relationship that is so important in much interpersonal action in Navajo society and to reaffirm Park Service acceptance of Navajo residency in the canyons?

Given the conflict of values that is inherent in any intercultural relationship, Guillet himself might find it difficult to honestly answer this question. Only if he were motivated by the second alternative, however, could he have developed a personal concern for the Navajos as individuals. Such limited evidence as exists in the documentation suggests that he did feel this concern, but did not consider it an appropriate subject for full expression in official reports. It is not so important here to make a judgment on Guillet's record in this regard as it is to note the need for awareness of factors of this sort when dealing with peoples of a different cultural background.

Even more necessary for those who might attempt to utilize the data presented here will be an awareness of changes that will have taken place in their own culture and especially in Navajo culture. He who tries to apply today too uncritically perhaps, or too mechanically, or too enthusiastically, to Navajo affairs what he has learned in reading about Navajo ways of the 1930s is destined for trouble. He must deal with the people as they are now and to do so he must know them now. It is very valuable to know their past for it will help in understanding the present, but it will not suffice by itself.

A knowledge of aboriginal Navajo material culture can enhance one's appreciation of modern Navajo arts and crafts, but it should not lead to the belief that a person of Navajo ancestry must deny his heritage if he drives a new pickup or modern sports car. A knowledge of Navajo religion may give a better understanding even of Navajo Christians, but it is equally a mistake to expect a Christian to accept all aspects of Navajo dogma or to dismiss his tribesmen's religion as mere superstition. Knowledge of traditional Navajo social structure will help a supervisor evaluate his subordinates' needs for time off in terms of kin obligations that are often very powerful forces in Navajo society, but he must not assume that a man who observes these obligations is any less competent to carry out jobs requiring formal education or knowledge of Anglo-American culture. A knowledge of the history of Navajo political development can be particularly valuable to someone dealing with Navajo communities or the tribe itself, but it is probably a mistake to expect consistency from any politician regardless of culture. In short, Navajos have doubtless always been, are today, and will certainly continue to be individuals whose degree of conformity to their native culture or to that of the Anglo-American world varies almost infinitely according to the advantages offered by either society at any particular time. There are regularities in the differences between Navajo and Anglo culture, but they are most irregularly distributed. One who deals with a different culture should learn all that he can about it and then use his knowledge as though he doubted its validity, continually but unobtrusively testing its applicability in each situation he encounters. He must learn not to feel surprised by or disdainful of what appear to him to be incongruous or illogical juxtaposition of old and new or of Navajo and Anglo. What may

seem inappropriate from a purely Anglo view-point is often the expression of real and pressing personal or collective efforts to reach accommodation between the two ways of life. Above all one should not revert to stereotypes.

Navajo culture once succeeded quite well in meeting the needs and desires of most of the people most of the time. To state this is not the same as accepting the romantic myth of the "noble savage" concept. There were conflicts and inequities even under aboriginal conditions, but alternatives did not exist in the bewildering complexity they do today. Not only did the system work, but it helped the individual define his own goals, providing him with a value system that matched cultural realities. Culture change, while more rapid than that in many traditional societies, was slow compared to the rate of change today and there was strong continuity in most aspects of life. The importance of a degree of continuity in any society should be self evident, but it is easy to ignore it in the presence of the very great forces for change that exist in the modern world. It is equally easy for the Anglo administrator to fail to recognize a problem as resulting from a conflict in cultural norms. Many Navajos are quite understandably reluctant to reveal to Anglos customs and beliefs that they know will most likely be met with incredulity, derision, or moralizing in terms of Anglo values.

Thus it is apparent that considerable care must be taken in the assignment of personnel to an area such as Canyon de Chelly. Not only should people transferred to the area be either knowledgeable in Navajo matters or possessed of the skills and temperament that will allow them to learn and to deal effectively with the Navajos, but they must be people in whom superiors can have confidence, because it is likely they will have to undertake actions that will not be entirely in accord with established policies if they are to be able to maintain smooth working relationships with the local community.

The frequent changes in personnel in any widespread organization such as the National Park Service create unique problems that a more localized institution does not face. Personal associations are much more important in Navajo-white relations than in relationships between whites alone. A factor of significance here is that most Navajos view the white world as a whole with some degree of suspicion. They can be quite perceptive in identifying individual differences among various whites, particularly in regard to the individual's attitudes toward and tolerance or acceptance of Navajos and Navajo ways. They are no more infallible than the rest of us, however, and furthermore Navajo tradition teaches that non-Navajos are inherently dangerous. Therefore tradition and personal experience often combine to reinforce suspicion of outsiders so that trust is not easily gained and can be easily lost by one who has not established his worth over a long period. The high potential for failure in intercultural personal relations is well documented. [4]

Another complication that arises from personnel transfers is the result of the continuation of a strong pre-literate tradition within the tribe. Preservation of knowledge depends more upon human memory than upon written documentation. Verbal agreements are the basis of most local cooperation, and a special effort is made to remember the details of such agreements and to pass these on when an agreement is in force beyond one lifetime. Verbal agreements made by early administrators, undocumented or recorded on documents no longer in the area files, will doubtless cause complications for years to come. Because of increasing literacy among tribal members, problems of this sort undoubtedly will decline, but it remains imperative that all agreements with Navajos be documented in as precise detail as possible for future reference. Definition for the Navajos of who can speak with authority on behalf of the National Park Service no longer seems as much of a problem as it once was. The Service appears to be committed, in Navajo eyes, to promises made by Bureau of Indian Affairs officials in the early negotiations that established the monument, some of whom

may have been speaking with little or no real authority in the matter, others of whom, such as Hagerman, were representing the interests of the Federal Government as a whole and of the National Park Service in particular.

Today, after the passage of over a generation in time and the administrations of 14 custodians and superintendents, plus various acting custodians and superintendents, any of whom may have made verbal commitments of various sorts to individual Navajos or to official Navajo entities, even a study of the documented history of the monument leaves considerable uncertainty as to the validity of many Navajo assertions. Unquestioning acceptance of any claim of any Navajo regarding past promises by officials long departed would be a rash course to pursue, yet summary dismissal of claims made in good faith would not be conducive to good community relations and might lead the Service to violate moral obligations that do exist. Each case must be considered on its own merits and settled in a manner that will leave all concerned fully aware of the reasons for the decision ultimately made. Where the means to evaluate a Navajo claim are not readily at hand, Navajo participation in resolving an issue may be especially important. Misunderstandings that originated during the difficult process of translating English to Navajo or vice versa are sometimes among the causes of claims made today and often cannot be discovered without the aid of someone who knows both languages. Judgment of the reliability of an individual across cultural borders can be very difficult, and if this judgment must be made regarding a deceased ancestor, only the community knowledge of his memory can serve the purpose.

More important, community and general Navajo participation in the operation of the monument are needed to preserve the values that made it a national monument and significant to the Navajo people. It is one of the few areas, if not the only one, in the National Park system whose continuation as a part of that system has been seriously questioned despite the fact that no one seems to question its value as a park as such. There is a very real possibility that sooner or later its administration will revert to the Navajo tribe. If, when, and how this might occur will be determined in large measure by Navajo opinion of the National Park Service's record as administrator of the monument. Navajo participation is the one way to teach the techniques and responsibilities of such management while increasing Navajo appreciation of the value and potential benefits of the canyon area as a park. Only if the Navajos have the opportunity to cultivate their own interest in the canyons as a park area will they resist the temptation to take over its administration prematurely and continue to preserve it well should they in time acquire the entire responsibility.

The desirability of tribal administration of Canyon de Chelly National Monument is an issue beyond the scope of the present study, but the history of the monument shows that tribal control is an alternative that cannot be completely ignored. For the sake of the monument itself and of the people who make their homes within it, the National Park Service needs to administer the area in such a manner that the higher aims of this administration will endure even if there should be a change in the governing authority.

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# Canyon de Chelly

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## APPENDIX I: CUSTODIANS AND SUPERINTENDENTS, 1932-1974

List of custodians and superintendents, Canyon de Chelly National Monument compiled from monthly reports and other sources. Personnel serving in an acting capacity are listed only when there was no regularly assigned incumbent.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Dates</u>
L. H. ("Cozy") McSparron	Acting Custodian	28 July 1932
W. Verde Watson	Acting Custodian	March 1934
Robert R Budlong	Custodian	1 Aug. 1934-30 Nov. 1936
Johnwill Faris	Custodian	30 Nov. 1936-13 Nov. 1938
Theodore Cronyn	Acting Custodian	14 Nov. 1938 30 Nov. 1938
Theodore Cronyn	Custodian	1 Dec. 1938-10 Sept. 1940
Quintin Bradley	Acting Custodian	11 Sept. 1940-31 Oct. 1940
Charles D. Wyatt, Jr.	Custodian	1 Nov. 1940-20 Jan. 1943
Ted C. Sowers	Acting Custodian	21 Jan. 1943-21 June 1943
Meredith M. Guillet	Custodian, Superintendent	22 June 1943-15 June 1950
Everett W. Bright	Superintendent	24 June 1950-1 Sept. 1953
John T. McConville	Acting Superintendent	2 Sept. 1953 28 Nov. 1953
John A. Aubuchon	Superintendent	29 Nov. 1953 19 May 1956
Albert G. Henson	Superintendent	21 May 1956-3 Apr. 1958
Paul A. Berger	Superintendent	4 May 1958-14 Jan. 1963
Roy G. Rainey	Acting Superintendent	15 Jan. 1963 19 Jan. 1963
Meredith M. Guillet	Superintendent	20 Jan. 1963-14 Aug. 1966
John E. Cook	Acting Superintendent	15 Aug. 1966 22 Oct. 1966
W. Franklin Wallace	Acting Superintendent	11 Feb. 1968 Mar. 1968
Kevin McKibbin	Acting Superintendent	Mar. 1968-5 Oct. 1968
Charles B. Voll	Superintendent	6 Oct. 1968 4 Apr. 1970

Kevin McKibbin	Acting Superintendent	5 Apr. 1970-30 May 1970
Leslie W. Cammack	Superintendent	31 May 1970-24 June 1972
William G. Binnewies	Superintendent	25 June 1972-18 Aug. 1974
Herbert Yazhe	Acting Superintendent	19 Aug. 1974 29 Sept. 1974
William Germeraad	Superintendent	29 Sept. 1974

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## APPENDIX 2: TRAVEL STATISTICS, 1931-1966

Travel statistics, Canyon de Chelly National Monument, compiled from DFRC, C de C, A2621, SWNM monthly reports, and other sources.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Visitors</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Visitors</u>
1931	423	1950	3,715 or 3,989
1932	395	1951	4,688
1933	435	1952	5,661
1934	650	1953	7,222
1935	988	1954	8,125 or 8,400
1936	1,136	1955	7,988 or 8,183
1937	1,422	1956	11,025 or 11,900
1938	1,573	1957	13,480 or 13,200
1939	2,128	1958	15,800
1940	2,738	1959	21,000
1941	1,916	1960	20,544
1942	1,549	1961	26,487
1943	403	1962	25,354
1944	501	1963	30,036
1945	600	1964	167,000
1946	1,839	1965	182,785
1947	2,232	1966	344,347
1948	2,239		
1949	2,818		

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### APPENDIX 3:

### CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS LET SINCE 1960

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#### 1. Construct 3 Residences and Bulk L.P. Gas System

Contract: No. 14-10-0333-616

Completed: May 23, 1960

Cost: \$60,075.00

Contractor: Clyde V. Hutchisan

#### 2. Parking Areas and Access Roads

Contract: No. 14-10-0333-536

Completed: July 12, 1960

Cost: \$85,721.12

Contractor: Sanders Construction Co. Ltd.

#### 3. Comfort Station

Contract: No. 14-10-0333-671

Completed: June 3, 1961

Cost: \$11,684.00

Contractor: W. H. Elliott

#### 4. Visitor Center

Contract: No. 14-10-0333-1128

Completed: August, 1964

Cost: \$118,209.68

Contractor: Flough-Slavers Co.

#### 5. South Rim Road Stage 1 (Includes 1st and Junction Overlooks), Utilities, Bridge over Canyon de Chelly, Campground Road Extension, and Concessioner Road and Parking.

Contract: No. 14-10-0333-1581

Completed: July 18, 1966

Cost: \$395,727.53

Contractor: Neilson, Inc.

6. Comfort Station and Campfire Circle

Contract: No. 14-10-3-930-14

Completed: September 20, 1967

Cost: \$25,299.00

Contractor: W. D. Powell

7. Construct Residence (Duplex) and Rehabilitate Residence No. 1 (Adobe)

Contract: No. 14-10-3-930-15

Completed: September 20, 1967

Cost: \$43,553.50

Contractor: Stangle Construction Inc.

8. South Rim Road Stage II (5 Miles)

Contract: No. 14-10-3-930-28

Completed: May 10, 1968

Cost: \$417,002.16

Contractor: Neilson, Inc.

9. South Rim Road Stage III

Contract: No. 14-10-7-971-143

Completed: March 20, 1969

Cost: \$412,422.10

Contractor: Neilson, Inc.

10. BIA-NPS Joint Road Development on the North Rim of Canyon del Muerto

Contract: No. N00 C 1420 4889

Completed:

Cost: \$5,344,476.05

Contractor: Wylie Brothers Contracting Co.

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### APPENDIX 4: ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELD WORK, 1902-1974

Ethnographic field work done at Chinle, in Canyon de Chelly National Monument, and in immediate vicinity

<u>Date</u>	<u>Worker</u>	<u>Subject</u>	<u>Source</u>
ca. 1902-05	Samuel E. Day, Jr.	Sandpaintings	Wyman, 1960, p. 27; Wyman, 1962, p. 282
ca. 1923-25	Gladys A. Reichard	Social Structure	Reichard, 1928
1932	Father Berard Haile	Religion	Wyman, 1962, p. 75; Wyman, 1965, pp. 282-83
ca. 1933-35	W. W. Hill	Material Culture & General Ethnography	Hill, 1937; Hill, 1938; Hill, 1948
ca. 1935-36	Gordon B. Page	Architecture	Page, 1937
1934	Father Berard Haile	Religion	Wyman, 1970, p. 19
ca. 1939-40	Richard F. Van Valkenburgh	Place Names	Van Valkenburgh, 1941, pp. 17-26
1940	Charles McC. Reeve	Sandpaintings	Watkins, 1943; Wyman, 1962
Nov. 1940	Henry Dendahl	Sandpaintings	Dutton, 1941
1946	Mary C. Wheelwright	Religion	Wyman, 1965, p. 211
May 1947	Mary C. Wheelwright	Religion	Wyman, 1970, p. 19; SWNM, Jan.-Feb.1949
July-Feb. 1949	Thomas B. Noble	Religion	SWNM, Jan.-Feb.1949
early 1950s	Ruth E. Underhill	Social Structure	Frisbie, 1974
1954-59	Mary Shepardson	Political & Social Structure, Religion	Shepardson, 1974
1957-58	Verner Mayes	Ethnographic filming	Mayes, personal communication
1957-59	David P. McAllester	Blessingway Music	Frisbie, 1974
1961	Leland C. Wyman	Windway	Wyman, 1962, p. 283

May 1962	Clifford R. Barnett	Health	Frisbie, 1974
1963-64	Samuel Barrett	Filming of Kinaalda	Frisbie, 1974
Oct.-Nov. 1964	Sallie Van Valkenburgh	Local oral tradition	Guillet to Dir., 10 Nov. 1964; Guillet to Dir., 10 Dec. 1964
Aug. 1965	Minor Van Arsdale & Peter Snyder	Urban relocation	Cook to Dir., 9 Sep. 1965
June-Aug. & Oct.-Nov. 1965	Sallie Van Valkenburgh	Local oral tradition	Guillet to Dir., 9 Nov. 1965, Chaco Archives #1337,1338
Fall 1965	Chien Chiao	Transmission of tradition	Frisbie, 1974; Chiao, 1971
1965	Mary Shepardson	Settlement patterns, Law	Shepardson, 1974, Guillet to Dir., 5 Nov. 1965
1966	Mary Shepardson	Law enforcement	Shepardson, 1974
ca. 1967-69	Carl Gorman	Local oral tradition	Frisbie, 1974
late 1960s	James McNeley	Linguistic concepts	McNeley, personal communication
ca. 1971-74	Stephen C. Jett	Ethnogeography, Architecture	Frisbie, 1974

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## APPENDIX 5:

### HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGY, CANYON DE CHELLEY, 1300-1960

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1300-1500: Sometime during this period the Apaches de Nabajo arrived in the Southwest. Exact time of arrival and routes of travel are still uncertain and various writers, basing their ideas on the best evidence available, (which is very limited), have quite divergent theories. All we can say with certainty is that they came ultimately from the North. Just how rapidly they spread over the country and occupied places such as Canyon de Chelly are matters on which we need further data.

1582: First mention of people who were probably Navajos, encountered at the base of Mount Taylor by the Espejo Expedition. This group was perhaps ancestral to the present-day Canyoncito Navajos. They were referred to as "Corechos" or "Querechos," traded and apparently also fought with Acoma, grew corn and hunted. Supplied Espejo's men with food on his way west to Hopi, but on his return fought him with bows and arrows to free Corecho women received as slaves from the Hopis.

1598: Arrival of Spanish colonists in New Mexico and first efforts by missionaries to convert the various Apache groups, including no doubt some of the Apaches de Nabajo.

1625-29: Fray Alonso de Benavides, Custodian of the New Mexico missions, arranged peace with the Apaches de Nabajo, who had been at war with the Spaniards, and made further efforts at missionary work among them. He described them as farmers, hunters, and valiant warriors, and as a very numerous people extending far to the west of the settlements, which might imply that Canyon de Chelly was already within their territory.

1626: Earliest surviving use of the name "Apaches de Nabaju" in Relacion of Zárata Salmerón.

1678: First definite documentation that the Navajos were using horses, although there is less explicit evidence that they had horses by 1653 if not earlier. Considerable warfare with the Spaniards and taking of Navajos as slaves during this century.

1680: The Pueblo Revolt, which drove the Spaniards from New Mexico. The Navajos aided the Pueblos in the revolt and obtained some captives, who were founders of new clans.

1692-93: The Reconquest of deVargas, subjecting all Pueblos except the Hopis to Spanish rule again.

1696: An unsuccessful second revolt by some of the Pueblos. Flight of numerous refugees to Navajo country, founding several new clans, settling mostly in the Dinetah area east of Farmington, N. M.

1700: Destruction of Awatovi, the easternmost Hopi town, by the other Hopis, in part due to willingness of the Awatovians to allow the missionaries to return. Some refugees from this event also joined the Navajos and founded one or more new clans. A part of them settled in Canyon de Chelly, but apparently sometime later.

1706: Earliest known mention of sheep and weaving among the Navajos, probably introduced by the Pueblo refugees.

1716: Last campaign against the Navajos during the early part of this century. There followed more than a half century of peace between the Navajos and the whites.

1740s: Another effort to convert Navajos, accomplishing only the establishment of two missions, which lasted less than a year, near Mount Taylor.

1749-53: Navajo population of the Dinetah, of mixed Athabaskan and Pueblo ancestry, moved out due to drought and Ute raids, spreading over the area to the southwest as far as Manuelito, Ganado, and Nazlini by 1764. Some of these people probably arrived in Canyon de Chelly about the same time.

1750s-1760s: Spanish settlement within the eastern fringes of Navajo country, especially around Mount Taylor and along the Rio Puerco of the East (Cuba, N. M. to the Acoma-Laguna region).

1774-75: Navajo war against the Spaniards, driving the settlers from their settlements.

1777-78: Earliest Spanish mention of Canyon de Chelly appears on maps made by Don Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco. On one of his maps dated 1778 it is spelled "Chegui" and is surrounded by several little hogan-like symbols. The mountains immediately to the east are called the "Sierra de Chegui." I suspect that the Canyon de Chelly area was penetrated by troops during the war of 1774-75, giving rise to better knowledge of it among the Spaniards, but thus far no campaign reports have been located in any archival collections.

1780: Juan Bautista de Anza made an expedition to Hopi to bring 40 families of Rio Grande refugees back to their missions. On arriving he learned that the 40 families had gone to join the Navajos instead. According to reports the Navajos killed the men and kept the women and children. This was during a war between the two tribes. It is sometimes assumed that these families went to Canyon de Chelly.

1786: "Chelli" was listed as one of the "five divisions" of the tribe.

1794: Mention of Canyon de Chelly as a place where Navajos pastured their livestock.

1796: "Chelle" was listed as one of ten Navajo settlements.

1804: New war by Navajos against renewed Spanish expansion into eastern Navajo country.

1805: The war continuing, Lieutenant Antonio Narbona brought troops and Opata Indian allies from Sonora late in 1804. On being joined by some New Mexican troops and Zuni Indians, he attacked the Navajos in Canyon de Chelly (or del Muerto) in January 1805, killing 115 people and taking 33 captives. This was probably the battle at Massacre Cave, but there are a number of discrepancies between Narbona's report and the Navajo tradition. He reported the canyon bottom as being fertile, but did not mention cornfields or orchards, perhaps merely because at that time of year they were not especially obvious.

1807: Gila Apaches visited the Navajos in Canyon de Chelly and invited some Navajos to go back with them on a return visit, but on the return trip stole the Navajos' horses, thus starting a war between the Apaches and the Navajos.

1816: Navajos from the Mount Taylor area moved temporarily to the de Chelly area because of war with the Comanches.

1818-19: War with the Spaniards, caused in part perhaps by Navajo belief in Spanish complicity in Comanche attacks. It is probable, but not certain, that Spanish troops operated part of the time in or near Canyon de Chelly.

1821: Another war with the Spaniards with inconclusive results. Mexico gains its independence.

1822: A war with Mexico caused by the killing by treachery of several Navajo emissaries at Jemez.

1823: Vizcarra's campaign into Navajo country. On the outward march the army camped one night at the mouth of Canyon de Chelly after scouting some side canyons. In the morning Navajo skirmishers attacked the camp, wounding one of Vizcarra's men and suffering no losses themselves. This was on July 13. From here Vizcarra went west to the Hopi area and beyond. The baggage train seems to have stayed behind and was still there on August 8 when a Mexican soldier was killed at the mouth of the canyon. It is possible that troops assigned to protect the baggage penetrated the canyon, but if so they did little damage, because all Navajo casualties are accounted for in the journals of the main column and other detachments. On August 18 Vizcarra returned to this base camp, which he called Tierra Blanca, and was joined on the same day by another detachment, coming up the Chinle Wash from the north, which had been harassed by Navajo warriors until it arrived about at Many Farms. The army rested at Tierra Blanca most of the next day, getting a late start, and began a slow return to New Mexico, taking 2 days to reach Little Canyon de Chelly probably on its upper portion.

1825: Another campaign into Navajo country, route unknown.

1833: Still another campaign, route unknown.

1834: And again.

1835: A campaign that got only as far as Washington Pass, where it was defeated when the Navajos

ambushed it. Three of the officers, including Blas de Hinojos, the leader, were killed. Navajos from Canyon de Chelly may well have participated in this battle, one of the tribe's major victories in the wars with Mexico.

1836: Three campaigns invaded Navajo country, but places visited unknown.

1836-37: Another campaign in the winter that camped at least one night at a place called Ojo del Carrizo near Canyon de Chelly.

1838: A campaign into the Tunicha Mountains, but whether it got close to de Chelly is not known.

1839: Campaign by three columns of troops. Two columns operated in the Canyon de Chelly area early in November. On the 5th a party of 500 men under Captain Juan Cristobal Armijo was sent to explore Canyon de Chelly. On the 7th a second detachment of 100 men was sent to assist him. He returned on the 8th, having detached 300 men to lay siege to a mesa on which Navajos were holding out. The mesa was apparently near the canyon and a second detachment was sent by way of Little Canyon de Chelly to attack the mesa after the others returned without having had any success. They managed to catch a half dozen stray Navajo horses and mules, but also failed to take the mesa. Setting out toward the Carrizo Mountains, one column then had an encounter with "a multitude of Navajos" at the mouth of the canyon, which resulted in no action, the troops camping there for the night. Marching northward, various small detachments were sent to scout the country, one of which made an attack on some Navajos on the "Mesas de Chelly" in which they killed a man and captured a woman and 160 sheep but had four men injured in a fall over a precipice.

1840: Two columns of troops again invaded Navajo country. One operated east of the mountains and the route of the other is unknown. The Navajos held a Naach'id or tribal assembly that winter near de Chelly, probably somewhere in the Chinle Valley, to discuss making peace with Mexico. Negotiations took most of the winter, but a treaty was made in the spring of 1841.

1843: Two campaigns, routes unknown.

1846: U.S. war with Mexico. Major Gilpin visited Canyon de Chelly in November, inviting Navajo headmen to the council with Doniphan at Bear Springs (present Fort Wingate) where the first treaty between the United States and the tribe was signed. Which, if any, headmen from the canyons attended the treaty negotiations is not reported in the surviving records.

1847: Major Robert Walker led the first U.S. expedition to enter Canyon de Chelly. They marched only 6 miles up the canyon and seeing no Navajos, turned around and marched out, noticing a few Navajo spies only on the rims of the canyon.

1849: Treaty signed at mouth of canyon with Col. John Washington and part of canyon explored by Lt. James Simpson.

1850: A private campaign led by Ramon Luna, after attacking the Navajos on Black Mesa, on their return journey camped at the mouth of Canyon de Chelly, where six men who strayed from camp were killed.

1851: Navajos reported planting extensively at Canyon de Chelly. Colonel Sumner's expedition, with the rather unsuccessful entry into Canyon de Chelly and his precipitous withdrawal, but resulting in the establishment of Fort Defiance.

1853: Agent Henry L. Dodge and Maj. Henry L. Kendrick, with troops from Fort Defiance and the post chaplain, Rev. John Shaw, visited Canyon de Chelly in an effort to settle differences between the whites and the Navajos. They found the crops good and the Navajos, who supplied them with green corn, melons, milk and cheese, friendly. It was about the end of July and they were invited to return when the peaches were ripe. The headmen encountered in the canyon were Fairweather and Amagoso, the latter a war chief. As they do not appear in later reports under those names, they cannot be identified with known leaders. There are indications that Amagoso died later that year, apparently of natural causes.

1854: A Navajo, said to be from Canyon de Chelly, killed a soldier at Fort Defiance. A Mexican captive, said by the Navajos to be the murderer, was executed, but he may have been substituted for the real culprit and the army deceived in the case.

1856: Treaty negotiated by Governor Meriwether, never ratified by Congress however. Mariano Martinez of Canyon de Chelly, who had signed the Treaty of 1849 with Colonel Washington, also signed this treaty. Whether he was the man called Fairweather by Dodge is uncertain.

1857: Ute raid between the mouth of Canyon de Chelly and the Carrizo Mountains, in which eight Navajos were killed. The Navajos retaliated, killing five Utes.

1858: January Another Ute attack, in which the headman Pelon, a wealthy stockman, was killed. This is perhaps the raid depicted in the famous Ute raid pictograph panel.

April Navajos of Cuentas Azules' ("Blue or Turquoise Beads") band raided Abiquiu, taking some sheep, which they drove to the vicinity of Canyon de Chelly.

June A major meeting was held at Canyon de Chelly by the Navajos to decide whether to have peace or war, the major trouble being disputes with Major Brooks at Fort Defiance over grazing land used by military livestock, and perhaps other matters.

July Killing of Major Brooks's slave at Fort Defiance, leading to war.

September Colonel Miles led troops of his command into the upper end of Monument Canyon and westward through the canyons to the mouth of de Chelly. He reported cornfields and peaches in the canyon, but the invasion accomplished little with regard to the war, the main action taking place in other locations.

November Miles's troops, after a roundabout march east of the mountains and crossing to the west to Lukachukai, marched southward to the mouth of Canyon de Chelly where they camped, using nearby hogans for firewood. Here they were met by Barboncito who tried to arrange a truce to end the war and a day was spent in camp negotiating and planning for Barboncito to bring a delegation of headmen to Fort

Defiance to meet with the agent. The next day the troops marched for the fort. A second column under Major Backus passed southward across the headwaters of the canyon to the east.

1859: Winter to Spring, exact dating uncertain. The last Naach'id was held at Tsin Sikaad, about 12 miles northwest of Chinle. The Treaty of 1858 was rejected, but Zarcillos Largos and Manuelito split on the issue of war and peace and no definitive consensus was reached. Although the decision for war was made, Zarcillos Largos walked out and warfare did not break out for several months. Tribal leadership remained split, and the traditional political organization of the tribe was no longer effective.

July Capt. John G. Walker led troops on an exploring trip to the canyon, entering at the head of Canyon de Chelly and emerging at the mouth, passing cornfields and wheatfields in the canyon and, at the mouth, holding a meeting with about 200 Navajo men and their families. The new Navajo agent, Silas F. Kendrick (not to be confused with Capt. Henry Kendrick who commanded Ft. Defiance a few years earlier) accompanied this expedition and later wrote that he ate, drank, and danced with the Navajos.

September Captain Walker, on his return march from another exploring trip over Black Mesa and back through Marsh Pass camped again near the mouth of Canyon de Chelly. He reported the Navajos busily engaged in harvesting their corn, some drying it "in kilns heated with hot stones." He saw some horses and sheep and was given peaches.

1860: July A private campaign from Abiquiu passed near the mouth of Canyon de Chelly to pursue herds seen to the west on Black Mesa, where Navajos in great numbers drove them back.

October Canby's troops, on campaign, marched in two columns, one north and one south of the canyons, from east to west and met at the mouth of de Chelly, from there turning northward toward Marsh Pass.

1861: Navajos which attended horse races at Fort Wingate in September, which ended in an attack by the troops, were said to include people from Canyon de Chelly.

1863: August Kit Carson led his troops on a march that went north past the mouth of Canyon de Chelly, near which place they destroyed over 100 acres of corn, thence east around the northern side of the canyons and south over the headwaters. He reported only a few Navajos, all very poor, in the vicinity.

October Navajos stole 89 sheep from the corral of an army grazing camp at Black Lake and successfully got away with them to Canyon de Chelly.

1864: January Carson's famous invasion of Canyon de Chelly. He and his troops arrived near the mouth of the canyon on the 12th, where he scouted the south rim for 10 or 11 miles, a detail scouting the night before attacking some Navajos with livestock as they were about to enter the canyon, killing 11 and taking four captives and a herd of sheep and goats. Having sent Capt. Albert Pfeiffer directly to the eastern end of the canyon, he next scouted both rims of the canyon on the 13th and 14th. Pfeiffer's command entered the upper end of Canyon del Muerto on the 11th, reaching the mouth of de Chelly on the 13th. His column spent two nights in the canyon and engaged in a number of minor skirmishes, during which they killed three Navajos. The fighting prevented them from destroying orchards observed on the way. Following this on the 16th,

Capt. A. B. Cary led a column of troops up the main canyon. After accepting the surrender of 150 Navajos at his camp 18 miles up the canyon that night, he marched another 2 miles the next morning to a trail leading out to the south and proceeded thence directly to Fort Defiance. While no major battle took place in the canyons, the penetration of them and the fact that Carson and his officers were able to convince the starving Navajos that they could surrender without being killed soon led to the surrender of large numbers destined for Fort Sumner.

August Capt. John Thompson led a small force into Canyon de Chelly and destroyed the peach orchards. He also accepted the surrender of Barboncito and his few remaining followers.

1865: It was reported in March that only about 60 Navajos were still trying to hide out in Canyon de Chelly.

1866: March Captain S. A. Gorman marched from Ft. Wingate to the mouth of Canyon de Chelly. He found evidence that many Navajos were hiding in the canyons but, having a small force and having used most of his ammunition before reaching that point, turned back.

1868: Return of the Navajos from Fort Sumner.

1871: Death of Barboncito following a long illness. J. H. Beadle, a newspaperman and writer, visited Navaho country. Leaving Ft. Defiance with a young Navajo man as guide, he visited the mouth of Canyon de Chelly, where he found some 2 or 3 square miles of land under cultivation but doing very poorly due to drought.

1873: Visit to Canyon de Chelly by T. H. O'Sullivan, photographer for the Wheeler Survey.

1878: Hastiin Biwosi, a signer of the Treaty of 1868 and a resident of Canyon del Muerto, killed as an alleged witch near Ganado.

1880-82: Building of A&P (A.T. & S.F.) Railway through southern part of Navajo country.

1882: Nakai Yazhi, a Spanish-American, legal name not known, traded from a tent at Chinle. First archeological survey, by James Stevenson.

1883: Agent Dennis M. Riordan and Henry Chee Dodge arrest Klah in Canyon de Chelly. Klah was a Navajo accused of killing a trader named Tracy near Aneth. Further archeological survey by Cosmos Mindeleff.

1883-84: Various evidence suggests trading at Chinle by Samuel E. Day, Anson C. Damon, and John Lorenzo Hubbell.

1885: C. N. Cotton bought out J. L. Hubbell's interest in a trading post at Chinle and hired Charles Hubbell to run it for him.

1886: Cotton was unable to get a license to trade at Chinle. Michael Donovan took over the post, with former Navajo agent John H. Bowman as his clerk. First Government efforts to develop irrigation in the area.

1887: Donovan died and Cotton again took over the store, with John W. Boehm as his manager.

1888: Cotton still operating the store with a "Mr. Hubbell," probably Charles, as his manager, but unable to get license.

1889: John W. Boehm had the license and was trading at Chinle. [Note: All these early changes in traders were the result of the political intrigue involved in getting a trading license at this time. Other traders at Chinle in this period seem to include two brothers, Washington P. Lingle and Thomas J. Lingle, about 1888-89, and Bernard J. Mooney and James F. Boyle in 1889.]

1892: "The Trouble at Round Rock" Black Horse and his followers beat up Agent Dana Shipley in protesting the kidnapping of children for the schools.

1902: Samuel Day I built a trading post at Chinle.

1903: Catholic missionary, Father Leopold Osterman, assigned to Chinle.

1905: Catholic mission at Chinle built. Day sold his post to Charles Weidemeyer, who hired Charles Cousins to operate it. Agent Reuben Perry beat up at Chinle by supporters of Tol Zhin when he tried to arrest him on a charge of rape. Tol Zhin and six others were later arrested by troops from Ft. Wingate and spent short periods in jail. The others involved were Winslow, Dlad or Linni Dlad, Ts'osini' Biye', Dinetigai, Doyatti and Ush Dilly, most being of the Taachii'nii Clan.

At this time the Government already had an agency farmer and two field matrons stationed at Chinle. Just when the first Government personnel were assigned there is a bit uncertain. Reportedly the field matrons ran a small school rather informally.

1909: Construction was begun on a Government boarding school in the fall. Opened in 1910.

ca. 1915: J. L. Hubbell built the two-story trading post that stood where the Chinle Post Office now is. Mike Kirk and Cozy McSparrow ran it.

ca. 1917-18: Hubbell sold his trading post in Chinle to C. N. Cotton who hired Camille Garcia to operate it for him.

1919: Flu epidemic.

1923: Camille Garcia, Cozy McSparrow, and Hartley T. Seymour (Cotton's son-in-law) bought all three stores then operating in Chinle.

July first tribal council meeting.

1928: Dourine epidemic among horses; many killed, others vaccinated.

1930: First major efforts at erosion control. (Probably local programs earlier.)

1932: First clinic at Chinle.

1933-34: First effort at stock reduction by purchase of sheep during this winter.

1934: Second effort at stock reduction, summer into fall, by purchase of goats and some sheep.

1936: Grazing districts layed out.

1940: Stock permits issued.

1954: Trailer school opened at del Muerto.

1955: July Chinle Subagency established. Many Farms Clinic opened by PHS - Cornell.

1959: Opening of the new PHS Clinic at Chinle.

1960: New BIA boarding school at Chinle completed.

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Last Updated: 08-Mar-2004

# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



### APPENDIX 6:

### ACT AUTHORIZING ESTABLISHMENT OF CANYON DE CHELLEY NM

#### "8. Canyon De Chelly National Monument

An Act to authorize the President of the United States to establish the Canyon De Chelly National Monument within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona, approved February 14, 1931 (46 Stat. 1161)

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress, as assembled,* That with the consent of the tribal council of the Navajo Tribe of Indians the President of the United States is hereby authorized to establish by presidential proclamation, the Canyon De Chelly National Monument, within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona, including the lands hereinafter described.

Township 4 north, range 7 west, north half section 5, and northeast quarter section 6; township 5 north, range 7 west, south half section 15, section 19, south half section 20, section 21, section 22, south half section 28, sections 29, 30, 31, and 32; township 3 north, range 8 west, section 4, east half section 5; township 4 north, range 8 west, sections 6 and 7, southwest quarter section 17, sections 18 and 19, west half and southeast quarter section 20, sections 29 and 30, north half section 31, sections 32 and 33; township 5 north, range 8 west, section 7, section 13, south half section 14, south half section 15, south half and northwest quarter section 16, sections 17 to 24, inclusive, north half section 25, north half section 26, section 27, north half and southeast quarter section 28, north half section 29, north half section 30 and southwest quarter section 31; township 6 north, range 8 west, north half section 3, sections 4 to 8, inclusive, west half section 18 and northwest quarter section 19; township 7 north, range 8 west, south half section 33, section 34 and west half section 35; township 4 north, range 9 west, sections 1 to 3, inclusive, east half section 4, north half section 10, north half section 11, sections 12 and 13, east half section 24 and east half section 25; township 5 north, range 9 west, sections 4 to 31, inclusive, east half section 33, and sections 34 to 36, inclusive; township 6 north, range 9 west, sections 1 to 3, inclusive, sections 10 to 15, inclusive,

Canyon de Chelly National Monument, Ariz.

Established, within Navajo Indian Reservation, with consent of their council.

Description.

sections 21 to 23, inclusive, north half section 24; north half section 26, sections 27 to 29, inclusive, southeast quarter section 30, and sections 31 to 34, inclusive; township 5 north, range 10 west sections 1 to 18, inclusive, north half section 22, sections 23 to 25, inclusive, north half section 26, and north half section 36; township 6 north, range 10 west, east half section 34, section 35, and south half section 36, embracing about eighty-three thousand eight hundred and forty acres of unsurveyed land, all west of the Navajo meridian, in Arizona. (U.S.C., 6th supp., title 16, sec. 445.)

SEC. 2. That nothing herein shall be construed as in any way impairing the right, title, and interest of the Navajo Tribe of Indians which they now have and hold to all lands and minerals, including oil and gas; and the surface use of such lands for agricultural, grazing, and other purposes, except as hereinafter defined; and the said tribe of Indians shall be, and is hereby, granted the preferential right, under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, of furnishing riding animals for the use of visitors to the monument. (U.S.C., 6th supp., title 16, sec. 445a.)

Rights of Indians reserved.

SEC. 3. That the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, is hereby charged with the administration of the area of said national monument, so far as it applies to the care, maintenance, preservation and restoration of the prehistoric ruins, or other features of scientific or historical interest within the area, and shall have the right to construct upon the lands such roads, trails, or other structures or improvements as may be necessary in connection with the administration and protection of the monument, and also the right to provide facilities of any nature whatsoever required for the care and accommodation of visitors to the monument. (U.S.C., 6th supp., title 16, sec. 445b.)

Control, etc.

An Act To amend the description of land described in section 1 of the Act approved February 14, 1931, entitled "An Act To authorize the President of the United States to establish the Canyon De Chelly National Monument within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona," approved March 1, 1933

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the description of the tract of land described in section 1 of the Act approved February 14, 1931, entitled "An Act to authorize the President of the United States to establish the Canyon De Chelly National Monument within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona" (U. S.C., title 16, secs. 445, 445b), be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

Canyon de Chelly National Monument, Ariz. Amends land description contained in sec. 1, 46 Stat. 1161. (See p. 313.)

'All lands in Del Muerto, De Chelly, and Monument Canyons, and the canyons tributary thereto, and the lands within one-half mile of the rims of the said canyons, situated in unsurveyed townships 4 and 5 north, range 7 west; townships 4, 5, and 6 north, range 8 west; townships 4 and 5 north, range 9 west; and in surveyed townships 4 and 5 north, range 6 west; townships 3, 6, and 7 north, range 7 west; township 6 north, range 9 west; and township 5 north, range 10 west; embracing about eighty-three thousand eight hundred and forty acres, all of the Navajo meridian, in Arizona.'

From Hillory A. Tolson, comp., Laws Relating to the National Park Service The National Parks and Monuments (Washington: GPO, 1933), pp. 313-15.

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Last Updated: 08-Mar-2004

# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## APPENDIX 7:

### PROCLAMATIONS ESTABLISHING CANYON DE CHELLEY NM

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#### "11. Canyon De Chelly National Monument

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Boundaries revised: Proclamation (No. 2036) of March 3, 1933	134

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BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[No. 1945 Apr. 1, 1931 47 Stat. 2448]

WHEREAS Congress by act of February 14, 1931 (Public, No. 667 71st Cong.), entitled "An act to authorize the President of the United States to establish the Canyon De Chelly National Monument within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona," authorized the President of the United States, with the consent of the Tribal Council of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, to establish the said Canyon De Chelly National Monument by Executive proclamation;

WHEREAS the Navajo Tribal Council Assembly at Fort Wingate, N. Mex., on July 8, 1930, adopted a resolution approving the establishment of the Canyon de Chelly National Monument; and

WHEREAS it appears that the public interest would be promoted by including the lands hereinafter described within a national monument for the preservation of a great number of cliff dwellings and for their archaeological interest;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Herbert Hoover, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by the said act of Congress approved February 14, 1931, do hereby proclaim and establish the Canyon De Chelly National Monument and that the following described lands in Arizona be, and the same are hereby, included within the said national monument:

## NAVAJO MERIDIAN

Unsurveyed T. 4 N., R. 7 W., 1/2 sec. 5 and NE. 1/4 sec. 6;

Unsurveyed T. 5 N., R. 7 W., 1/2 sec. 15, sec. 19, 1/2 sec. 20, secs. 21, 22, S. 1/2 sec. 23, N. 1/2 sec. 26, N. 1/2 sec. 28, secs. 29 to 32 inclusive;

Unsurveyed T. 3 N., R. 8 W., sec. 4 and E. 1/2 sec. 5;

Unsurveyed T. 4 N., R. 8 W., secs. 6, 7, SW. 1/4 sec. 17, secs. 18, 19, S. 1/2, NW. 1/4 sec. 20, secs. 29, 30, M. 1/2 secs. 32 and 33;

Unsurveyed T. 5 N., R. 8 W., secs. 7, 13, S. 1/2 sec. 14, S. 1/2 sec. 15, S. 1/2, NW. 1/4 sec. 16, secs. 17 to 24 inclusive, N. 1/2 sec 25, N. 1/2. SE. 1/4 sec. 28, N. 1/2 sec. 29, N. 1/2 sec. 1/2 sec. 26, sec. 27, N. 30, and SW. 1/4 sec. 31;

Unsurveyed T. 6 N., R. 8 W., N. 1/2 sec. 3, secs. 4 to 8 inclusive, W. 1/2 sec. 18, and NW. 1/4 sec. 19;

Unsurveyed T. 7 N., R. 8 W., S. 1/2 sec. 33, sec. 34, and W. 1/2 sec. 35;

Unsurveyed T. 4 N., R. 9 W., sees 1, 2, 3, E. 1/2 sec. 4, N. 1/2 sec. 10, N. 1/2 sec. 11, sees. 12, 13, E. 1/2 sec. 24, and E. 1/2 sec. 25;

Unsurveyed T. 5 N., R. 9 W., sees. 4 to 31 inclusive, E. 1/2 sec. 33, sees. 34, 35, and 36;

Surveyed T. 6 N., R. 9 W., sees 1, 2, 3, sees. 10 to 15 inclusive, sees. 21, 22, 23, N. 1/2 sec. 26, sees. 27, 28, 29, SE. 1/4 sec. 30, and sees. 31 to 34 inclusive;

Surveyed T. 5 N., R. 10 W., secs, 1 to 18 inclusive, N. 1/2 sec. 22, sees. 23, 24, 25, N. 1/2 sec. 26, and N. 1/2 sec. 36;

Surveyed T. 6 N., R. 10 W., E. 1/2 sec. 34, sec. 35, and S. 1/2 sec. 36, contained approximately 83,840 acres.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of this monument as provided in the act of Congress entitled "An act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), and acts additional thereto or amendatory thereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand the caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[SEAL] DONE at the City of Washington this 1st day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and thirty-one, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fifty-fifth.

HERBERT HOOVER.

By the President:

WILBUR J. CARR,

*Acting Secretary of State.*"

"BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

[No. 2036 Mar. 3, 1933 47 Stat. 2562]

WHEREAS Congress by act of February 14, 1931 (Public, No. 667 71st Cong.), entitled "An act to authorize the President of the United States to establish the Canyon De Chelly National Monument within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona," authorized the President of the United States, with the consent of the Tribal Council of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, to establish the said Canyon De Chelly National Monument by Executive Proclamation; and

WHEREAS Congress by act of March 1, 1933 (Public, No. 404 72nd Cong. 2nd Session), entitled "An Act To amend the description of land described in section 1 of the act approved February 14, 1931, entitled 'An Act To authorize the President of the United States to establish the Canyon De Chelly National Monument within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona,'" amended the description of the land described in section 1 of the act of February 14, 1931; and

WHEREAS the Navajo Tribal Council Assembly at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, on July 8, 1930, adopted a resolution approving the establishment of the Canyon De Chelly National Monument; and

WHEREAS it appears to be in the public interest that the cliff dwellings and other features of scientific and educational interest desired to be preserved be more accurately described by amending the description of the land for the Canyon De Chelly National Monument as established by Proclamation No. 1945 dated April 1, 1931;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Herbert Hoover, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power in me vested by the said acts of Congress approved February 14, 1931, and March 1, 1933, do proclaim that the Canyon De Chelly National Monument as heretofore established by proclamation shall comprise the following described lands:

"All lands in Del Muerto, De Chelly, and Monument Canyons, and the canyons tributary thereto, and the lands within one-half mile of the rims of the said canyons, situated in unsurveyed townships 4 and 5 north, range 7 west; townships 4, 5, and 6 north, range 8 west; townships 4 and 5 north, range 9 west; and in surveyed townships 4 and 5 north, range 6 west; townships 3, 6, and 7 north, range 7 west; township 6 north, range 9 west; and township 5 north, range 10 west; embracing about eighty-three thousand eight hundred and forty acres, all of the Navajo meridian, in Arizona,"

and the proclamation dated April 1, 1931, heretofore issued for the establishment of the said national monument is hereby accordingly modified.

Warning is hereby expressly given to all unauthorized persons not to appropriate, injure, destroy, or remove any feature of this monument and not to locate or settle upon any of the lands thereof.

The Director of the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the supervision, management, and control of this monument as provided in the act of Congress entitled "An Act To establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes," approved August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), and acts additional thereto or amendatory thereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[SEAL] DONE at the City of Washington this 3d day of March in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and thirty-three and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and fifty-seventh.

HERBERT HOOVER.

By the President:  
HENRY L. STIMSON,  
*Secretary of State.*"

From Thomas Alan Sullivan, comp., Proclamations and Orders Relating to the National Park Service Up to January 1, 1945 (Washington: GPO, 1947), pp. 133-35.

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## APPENDIX 8:

### FEDERAL REGULATIONS: CANYON DE CHELLY NM

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"7.19 Canyon de Chelly National Monument.

(a) Visitors are prohibited from entering the canyons of Canyon de Chelly National Monument unless accompanied by National Park Service employees or by authorized guides: *Provided, however,* That the Superintendent may designate, by marking on a map which shall be available for public inspection in the Office of the Superintendent and at other convenient locations within the monument, canyons or portions thereof which may be visited or entered without being so accompanied.

(b) The Superintendent may issue permits to properly qualified persons to act as guides for the purpose of accompanying visitors within the canyons.

[32 F.R. 13129, Sept. 15, 1967]"

From Code of Federal Regulations: Public Property (Washington: Title 36 parks, Forests, and GPO, 1974), p. 58.

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## APPENDIX 9:

### NAVAJO TRIBAL COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS, 1925 AND 1930

"MINUTES  
of the  
NAVAJO TRIBAL COUNCIL  
held  
July 7, 1925

The meeting was called to order by Hon. H. J. Hagerman, Commissioner to the Navajo Tribe, at 9:00 A. M., July 7, 1925.

Delegates and alternates were present as follows:

#### I. San Juan Jurisdiction (Shiprock)

##### (a) Delegates:

- 1 Deshna Clahcheschillige
- 2 J. C. Morgan
- 3 Robert Martin

##### (b) Alternates:

- 1 Hugh Lapaiae
- 2 Bob Bekis
- 3 Jimmie Curley

#### II. Navajo Jurisdiction (Fort Defiance)

##### (a) Delegates:

- 1 Todechene Bardony
- 2 Hosteen Usahelin
- 3 Hosteen Yazzi Jesus

4 Louis Watchman

(b) Alternatives:

- 1 Sam James
- 2 Ches-chille
- 3 Dugalchee
- 4 Claw Tsoi

III. Western Navajo Jurisdiction (Tuba City)

(a) Delegates:

- 1 George Bancroft
- 2 Zangenitzo

(b) Alternates

- 1 Tsagenayazzie

IV. Leupp Jurisdiction (Leupp)

(a) Delegate:

- 1 Hosteen Begoiden Bega

(b) Alternate:

- 1 Perle La Kai Etsetty

V. Hopi Jurisdiction (Kaams Canon)

(a) Delegate:

- 1 Hosteen Nez

(b) Alternate:

- 1 Clah

---

Meeting called to order at 9:20 A.M. Wednesday, July 8, 1925.

---

Mr. Hagerman: I spoke to you about the matter of the possible desire of the government to make out of the

Canon de Chelly a national monument; that is to set aside that canon and the Canon del Muerto and the other contiguous canons there as a national monument, in order to preserve the ruins and to prevent depredations from tourists and outside people, and at the same time permitting it to be visited, under regulations by an overseer, by people who could go in there and see it without taking the pottery and other remnants out of there. If that was done, it would be in the same position as the Inscription Rock is down there, and other national monuments under the supervision of the Department of the Interior, and in no way would it interfere with the grazing rights of the Indians or other residents there, but rather would protect them in their rights. The title would not be taken away in any way from the Indians or their treaty rights interfered with, but it would be merely set aside and protected as a monument a national park so that the ruins would be preserved and outsiders would be prevented from going in and looting the ruins.

Chee Dodge: The government would probably have to have a man there to look after it?

Mr. Hagerman: They would have to have a man there to look after it; but of course it would in no way interfere with the Indians but just prevent the other people from coming in and looting the ruins.

Chee Dodge: They are not going to charge the visitors for going in to look, are they?

Mr. Hagerman: No, I don't think so. But they will put someone in charge.

Chee Dodge: The government would put in roads there, would they?

Mr. Hagerman: 'Probably so. They would have to put someone in charge so those who go in could do no damage.

The matter of making a national monument out of the Canon de Chelly and contiguous canons was brought up and fully discussed by the Council, and on being put to vote it was unanimously agreed by the Councilmen that in their opinion it would be a good thing to bring this about, provided the grazing and other rights of the Indians are in no way interfered with.

---

The Indians around Chinle, through their delegate, stated that they would like to have the privilege of furnishing horses for tourists for the Canon de Chelly in case it is made a national monument. They stated that the horses are now furnished by the trader there, and it was requested that this matter be called to the attention of the Indian Office.

---

Deshna Clahcheschillige: Mr. Chairman, in regard to this National Monument at Canon de Chelly, I would like to bring up a point or two. In case a road should be built to this monument, we refuse to let out any of the tribal money for this road building, or for any other purpose around there.

Mr. Hagerman: Well I think that is right.

---

APPROVED:

s/ Chee Dodge

Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council.

s/ H. J. Hagerman

Commissioner to the Navajo Tribe.

s/ Mrs. A. C. Stone

Secretary of the 1925 meeting of the  
Navajo Tribal Council."

"RESOLVED: That the Navajo Tribal Council assembled at Fort Wingate on July 8, 1930, approves the following bill to authorize the President of the United States to establish the Canon de Chelly National Monument within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona.

#### A BILL

To authorize the President of the United States to establish the Canyon de Chelly National Monument within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED:

That with the consent of the Tribal Council of the Navajo Tribe of Indians, the President of the United States is hereby authorized to establish by presidential proclamation, the Canyon de Chelly National Monument, within the Navajo Indian Reservation, Arizona, including the lands hereinafter described.

Township 4 N., R. 7 W., N 1/2 Section 5, and NE 1/4 Section 6; T. 5 N., R. 7 W., S 1/2 Section 15, Section 19, S 1/2 Section 20, Section 21, Section 22, S 1/2 Section 23, N 1/2 Section 26, N 1/2 Section 27, N 1/2 Section 28, Sections 29, 30, 31, and 32; T. 3 N., R. 8 W., Section 4, E 1/2 Section 5; T. 4 N., R. 8 W., Sections 6 and 7, SW 1/4 Section 17, Sections 18 and 19, W 1/2 and SE 1/4 Section 20, Sections 29 and 30, N 1/2 Section 31, Sections 32 and 33; T. 5 N., R. 8 W., Section 7, Section 13, S 1/2 Section 14, S 1/2 and NW 1/4 Section 16, Sections 17 to 24 inclusive, N 1/2 Section 25, N 1/2 Section 26, Section 27, N 1/2 and SE 1/4 Section 28, N 1/2 Section 29, N 1/2 Section 30 and SW 1/4 Section 31; T. 6 N., R. 8 W., N 1/2 Section 5, Section 3, Sections 4 to 8 inclusive, W 1/2 Section 18 and NW 1/4 Section 19; T. 7 N., R. 8 W., S 1/2 Section 33, Section 34 and W 1/2 Section 35; T. 4 N., R. 9 W., Sections 1 to 3 inclusive, E 1/2 Section 4, N 1/2 Section 10, N 1/2 Section 11, Sections 12 and 13, E 1/2 Section 24 and E 1/2 Section 25; T. 5 N., R. 9 W., Sections 4 to 31 inclusive, E 1/2 Section 33,, and Sections 34 to 36 inclusive; T. 6 N., R. 9 W., Sections 1 to 3 inclusive, Sections 10 to 15 inclusive,

Sections 21 to 23 inclusive, N 1/2 Section 24; N 1/2 Section 26, Sections 27 to 29 inclusive, SE 1/4 Section 30 and Sections 31 to 34 inclusive; T. 5 N., R. 10 W., Sections 1 to 18 inclusive, N 1/2 Section 22, Sections 23 to 25 inclusive, N 1/2 Section 26, and N 1/2 Section 36; T. 6 N., R. 10 W., E 1/2 Section 34, Section 35 and S 1/2 Section 36, Embracing about 83840 acres of unsurveyed land, all west of the Navajo Meridian in Arizona.

SECTION 2. That nothing herein shall be construed as in any way impairing the right, title, and interest of the Navajo Tribe of Indians which they now have and hold to all lands and minerals including oil and gas and the surface use of such lands for agricultural, grazing and other purposes, except as herein after defined, and the said tribe of Indians shall be and is hereby granted the preferential right, under regulations to be prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior, of furnishing riding animals for the use of visitors to the monument.

SECTION 3. That the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, is hereby charged with the administration of the area of said national monument, so far as it applies to the care, maintenance, preservation and restoration of the prehistoric ruins, or other features of scientific or historical interest within the area, and shall have the right to construct upon the lands such roads, trails or other structures or improvements as may be necessary in connection with the administration and protection of the monument, and also the right to provide facilities of any nature whatsoever required for the care and accommodation of visitors to the monument.

We, the undersigned, Deshne [sic] Clahcheschillige, Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council, sitting at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, on July 7th and 8th, 1930, and H. J. Hagerman, Special Commissioner to Negotiate with Indians, charged by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with the conduct of said Council, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the resolution passed at said Navajo Tribal Council at its meeting on July 8th, 1930.

s/ Deshna Clah Cheschillige  
Chairman Navajo Tribal Council

s/ H. J. Hagerman  
Special Commissioner to Negotiate  
with Indians."

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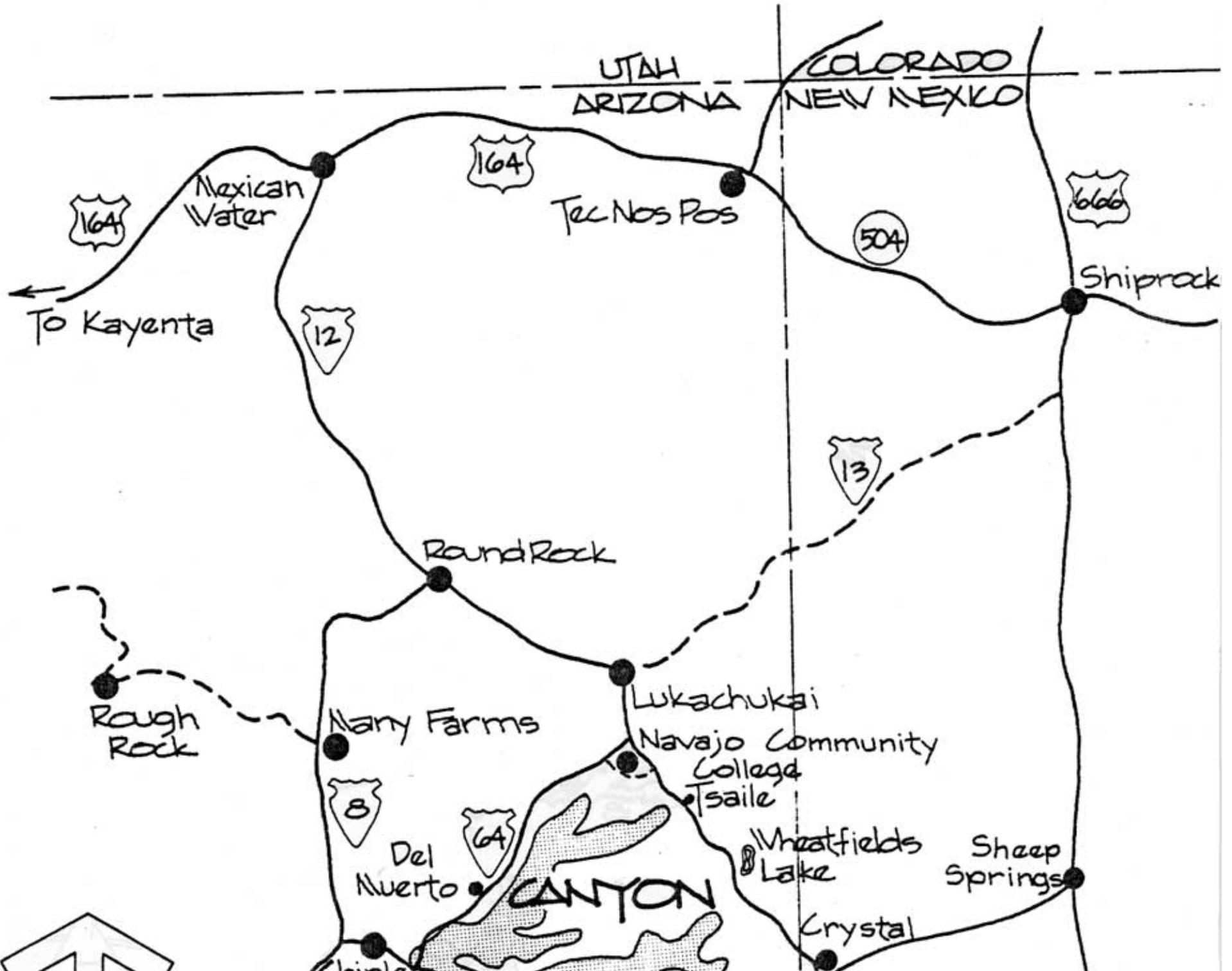
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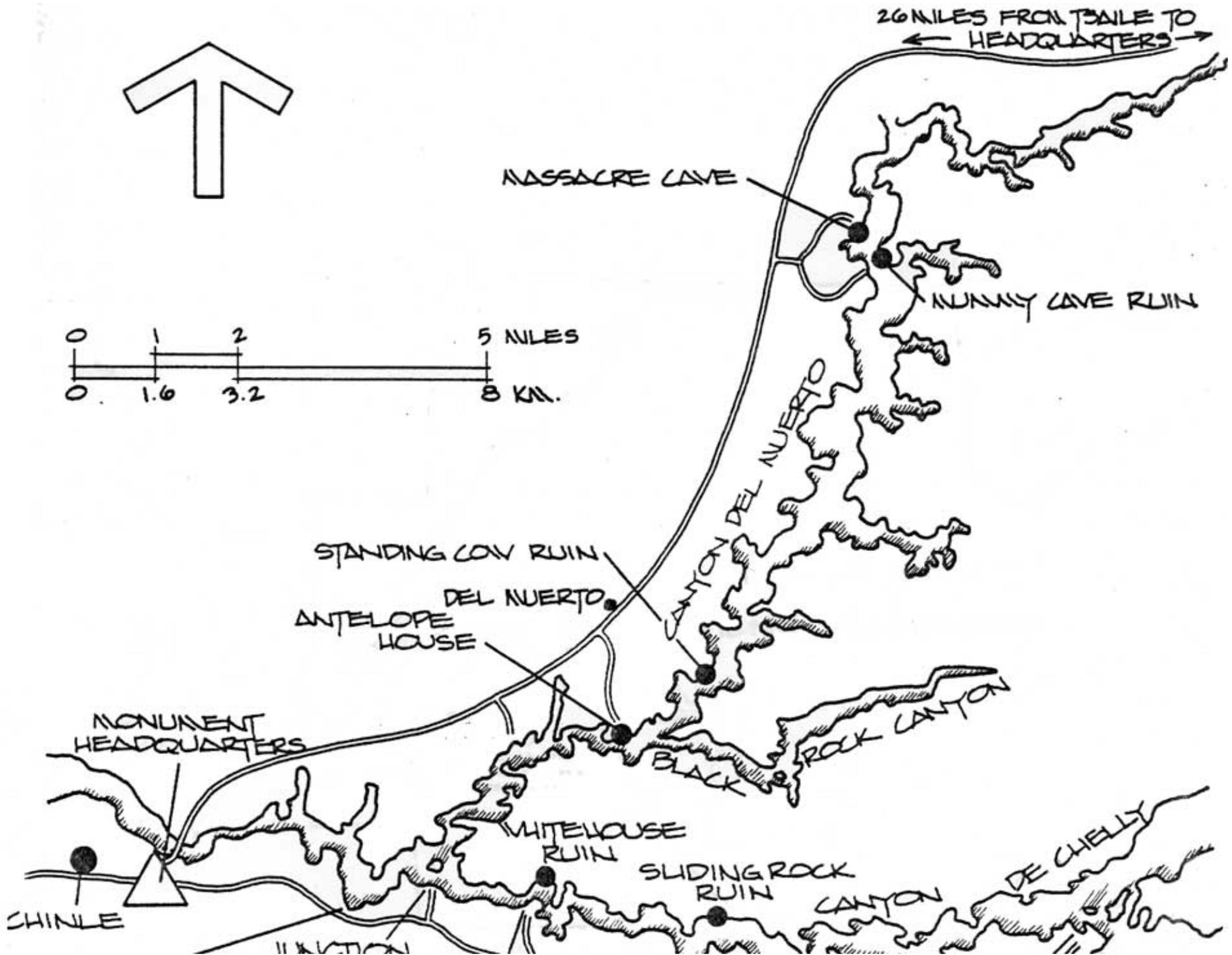
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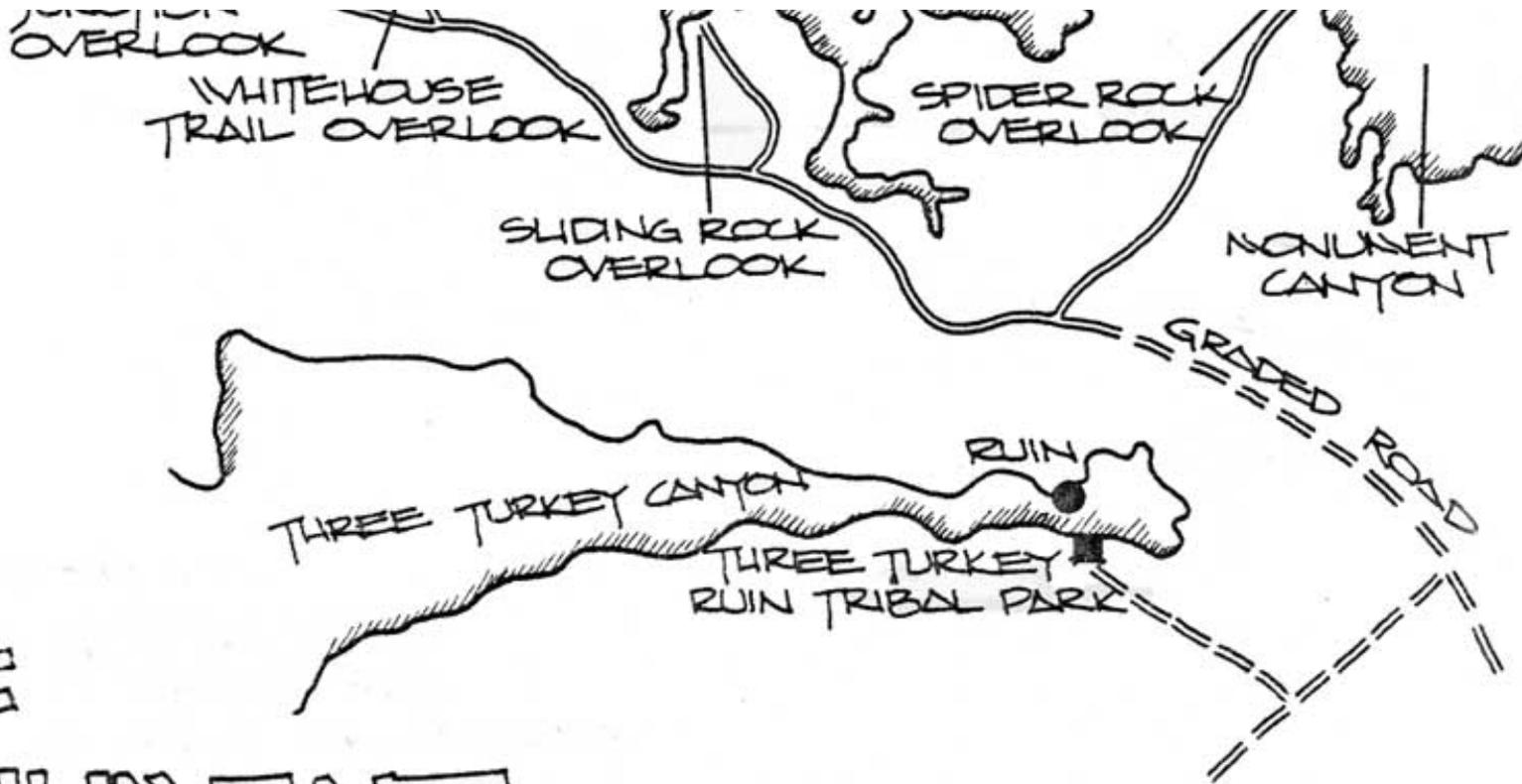
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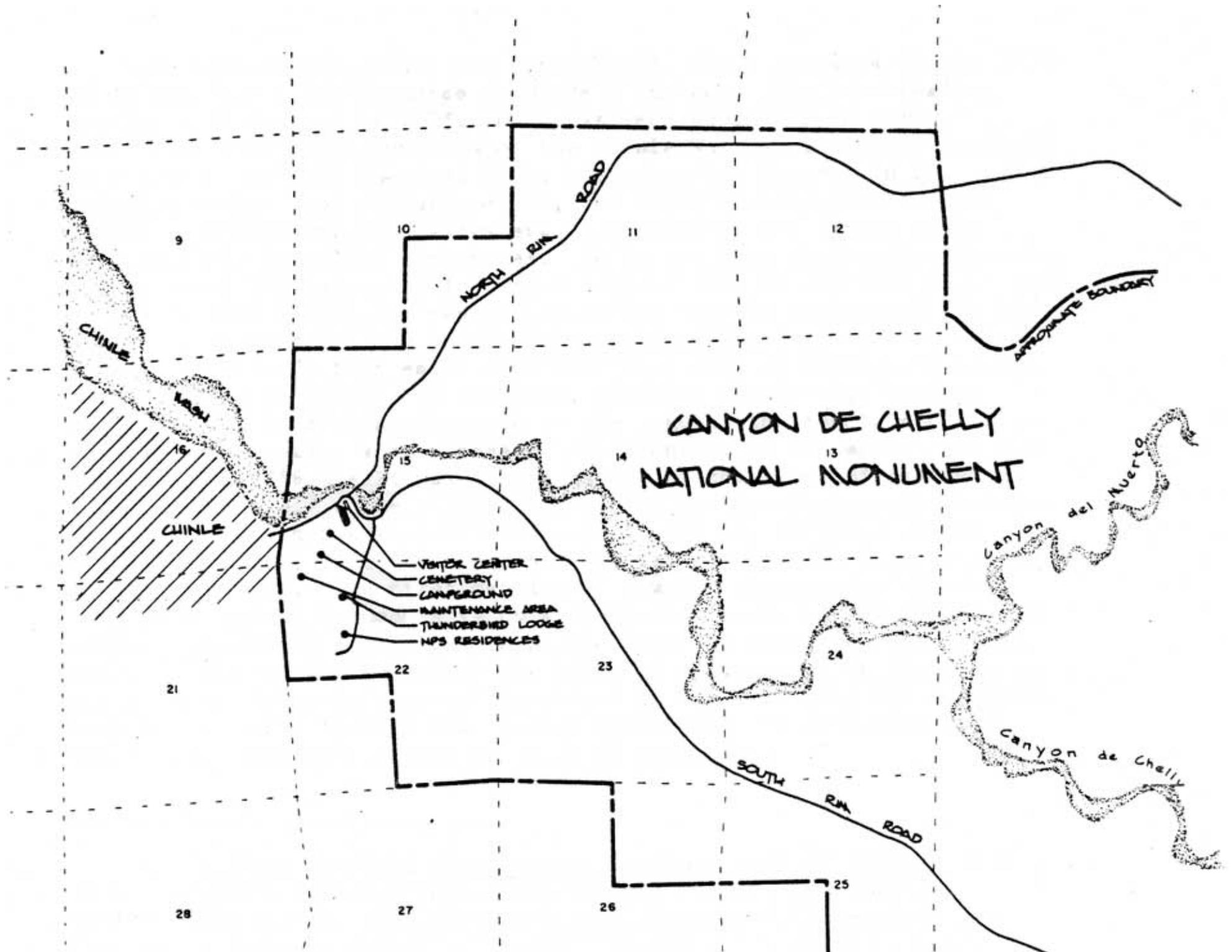


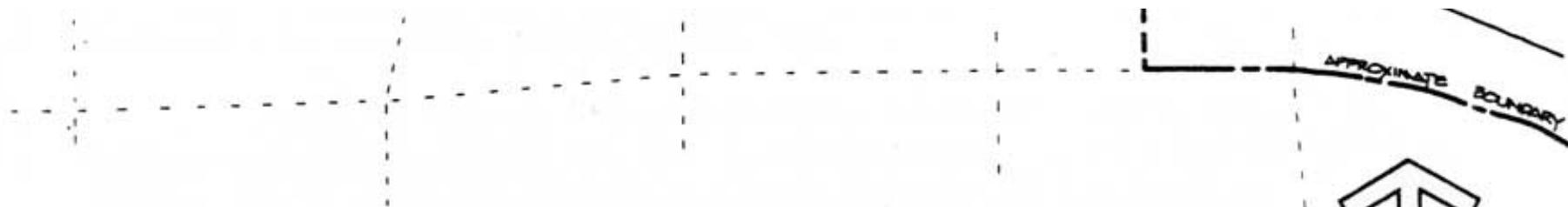
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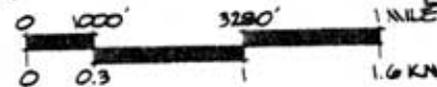
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CANYON DE CHELLEY N.M., ARIZONA





HEADQUARTERS AREA  
**BOUNDARY**  
CANYON DE CHELLY N.M., ARIZONA

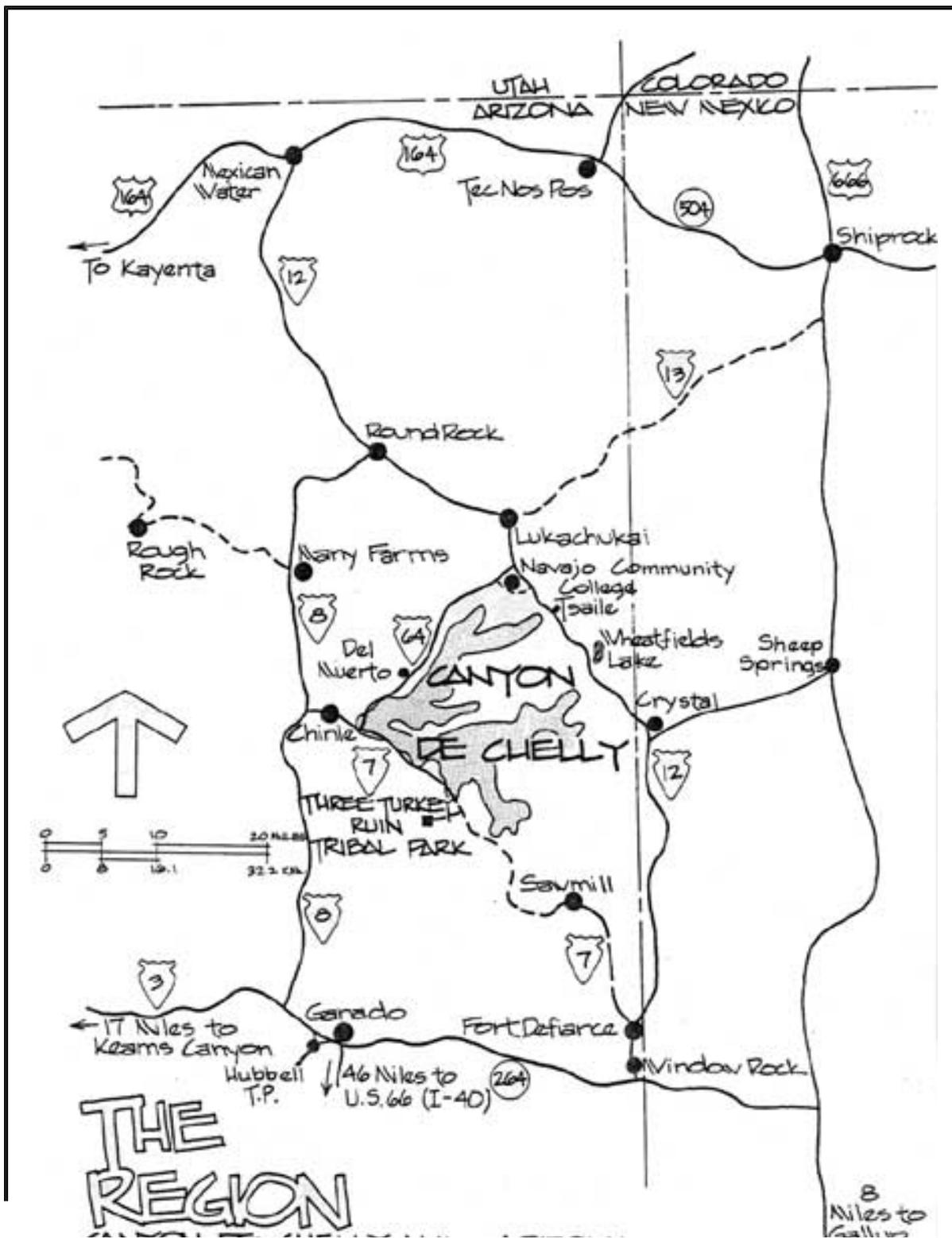


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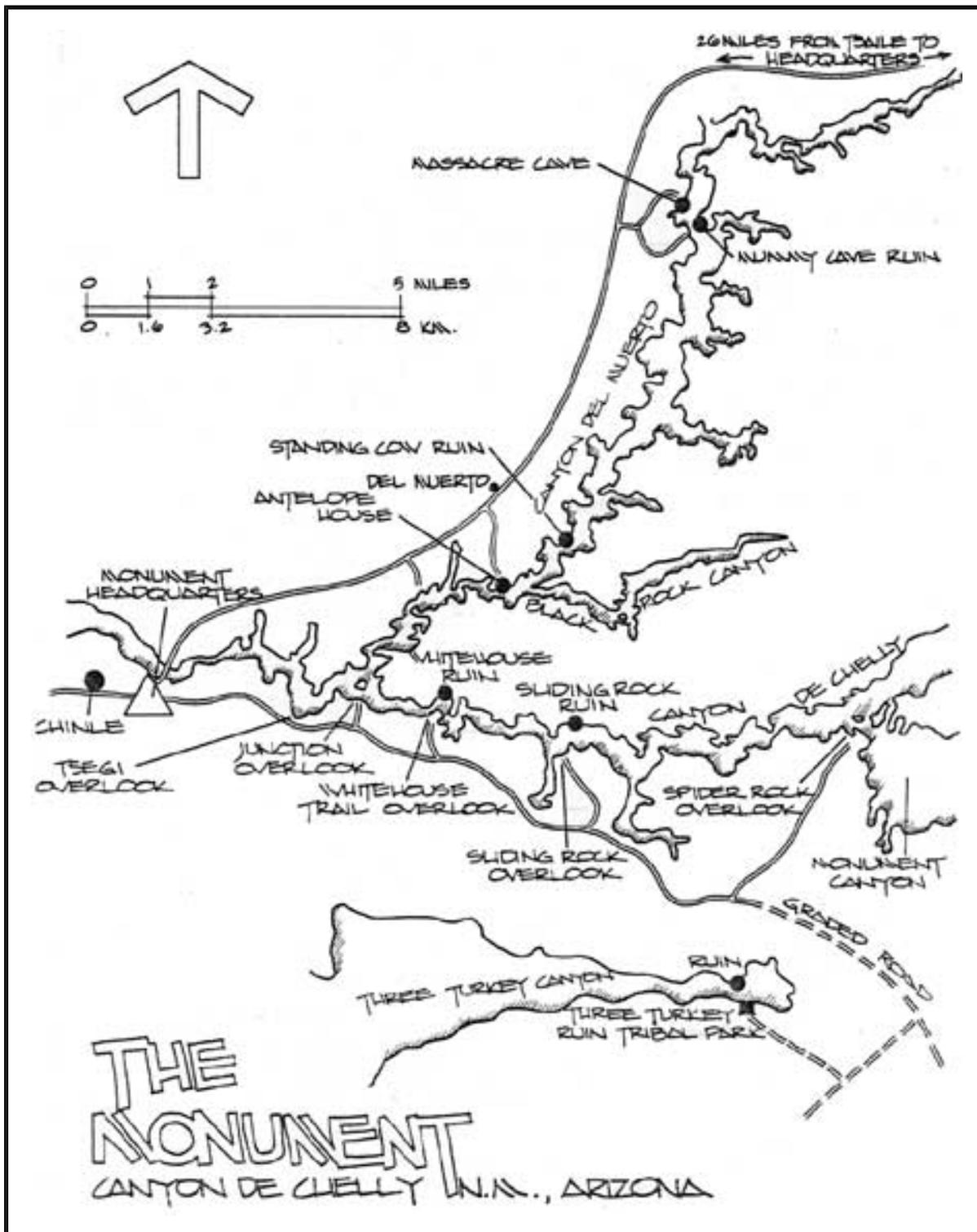


# REGION

CANTON DE CHELLY N.M., ARIZONA

8  
Miles to  
Gallup  
↓

Map of the Region. (click on image for an enlargement in a new window)



Map of the Monument. (click on image for an enlargement in a new window)



# Canyon de Chelly

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## CHAPTER 1: THE EARLY YEARS TO 1919

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2. Frank D. Reeve, "Navaho-Spanish Diplomacy, 1770-1790," New Mexico Historical Review 35, no. 3 (Albuquerque, 1960): 206-9; David M. Brugge, Navajos in the Catholic Church Records of New Mexico, 1694-1875, Research Report No. 1, Research Section (Window Rock, Ariz.: Navajo Tribe, 1968), pp. 45-47.
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8. Arthur Woodward, "The First Americans through Canon de Chelly," Masterkey 13, no. 4 (Los Angeles, 1939): 136-38.
9. Bond of Agustin Lacome, Mar. 4, 1854, NA, RG 75, OIA, NM Field Papers.
10. Cosmos Mindeleff, The Cliff Ruins of Canyon de Chelly, Arizona, in J. W. Powell, Sixteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1894-1895 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), p. 80; Beaumont Newhall and Nancy Newhall, T. H. O'Sullivan, Photographer (New York: George Eastman House and Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1966).

11. J. W. Powell, Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1882-1883 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886), pp. xxxiv-xxxvi.
12. J. W. Powell, Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1883-1884 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), p. xxiv.
13. Mindeleff, Cliff Ruins, p. 80.
14. Richard F. Van Valkenburgh, "Dine Bikeyah (The Navajo Country)," mimeographed (Window Rock, Ariz.: Navajo Agency, 1941), p. 39.
15. Cotton to Deputy Collector, Int. Rev., June 29, 1885, Cotton Letterbook, 1884-89, Historical Files, Hubbel Trading Post NHS, Ganado, Ariz., p. 138.
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18. Actg. CIA to Sec. of Int., May 1, 1903, NA, RG 48, ID, Off. of the Sec., 3945/03.
19. Hayzlett to Day, May 29, 1903, Navajo Agency Letterbook, FD-29, Federal Records Center, Bell, Calif., p. 28.
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21. William T. Shelton to CIA, Feb. 22, 1905, NA, RG 75, OIA, 16559/05.
22. Day to Reuben Perry, July 20, 1904, NA, RG 48, ID, Off. of the Sec., Ind. Div. 733, 7997/04, encl. 1; Perry to CIA, July 27, 1904, NA, RG 48, ID, Off. of the Sec., Ind. Div. 733, 7997/04, encl. 2; Tanner to Sec. of Int., Aug. 5, 1904, NA, RG 48, ID, Off. of the Sec., Ind. Div. 733, 7997/04.
23. Frank McNitt, The Indian Traders (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), p. 251.
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25. Outwest 26, no. 6 (1907): 485-505.
26. Anonymous, "Canyon de Chelly of Arizona," Scientific American Supplement 87 (Feb. 15, 1919): 100-101.
27. Hannah Fox to Dir., U. S. Nat. Mus., Feb. 9, 1917, NA, RG 75, OIA, Classified Files, Navajo, 21634-17-

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28. Paquette to CIA, Aug. 9, 1917, ibid.

29. Report by Herbert W. Gleason, Part 7, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.

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## CHAPTER 2:

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1. Verne E. Chatelain to Horace Albright, Mar. 10, 1933, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Central Classified Files 1933-49, encl., pp. 4-5.
2. Charles Davis to Hubert Work, Sept. 3, 1924, NA, RG 75, OIA, Class. Files, Nav., 69601-1924-044.
3. Cammerer to Burke, Sept. 17, 1924, ibid.
4. Chatelain to Albright, Mar. 10, 1933, encl., pp. 8-9.
5. Hagerman to CIA, Dec. 16, 1924, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Gen., 1923-34; Burke to Mather, Dec. 31, 1924, NA, RG 75, OIA, Class. Files, Nav., 69601-1924-044.
6. "Minutes of the Navajo Tribal Council held at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, July 7-8, 1925," NA, RG 75, OIA, Central Files 1907-39, Nav., 37534-1925-054.
7. Ibid.
8. "Extract from report of H. J. Hagerman, Commissioner to the Navajo Tribe, dated July 11, 1925," NA, RG 75, OIA, Class. Files, Nav., 69601-1924-044.
9. Merritt to Mather, July 24, 1925, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2; Cammerer to Merritt, Aug. 25, 1925, NA, RG 75, OIA, Class. Files, Nav., 69601-1924-044.
10. "A Proclamation," n.d., NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2; Burke to Hagerman, Aug. 27, 1925, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
11. Burke to Hagerman, Aug. 27, 1925, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
12. Chatelain to Albright, Mar. 10, 1933, encl., pp. 11, 14.
13. Memo by Kidder and Morris, n.d., NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.

14. Ibid.
15. Merriam to Albright, Mar. 12, 1929, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
16. Albright to Merriam, Mar. 18, 1929, ibid.; Merriam to Albright, Mar. 19, 1929, ibid.
17. Burke to Albright, Apr. 23, 1929, ibid.
18. Rhoads to Albright, Mar. 4, 1930, ibid.
19. Hagerman to Rhoads, June 19, 1930, NA, RG 75, OIA, Class. Files, Nav., 69601-1924-044; Rhoads to Hagerman, July 1, 1930, ibid.
20. Despite Hagerman's statement, no evidence has been found that more than one earlier council voted in favor of the establishment of a national monument at Canyon de Chelly or even considered the matter.
21. "Minutes of the Eighth Annual Session of the Navajo Tribal Council held at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, July 7-8, 1930," NA, RG 75, OIA, General Services, 054-1929-34664 to 054-1931-35878, pp. 65-66.
22. Ibid., pp. 66-67.
23. Ibid., p. 67.
24. This name is written "Todechenie Cheschille" in the council minutes, but appears as "Toadin Chischilli" on a later petition. Sandoval et al. to Hunter, Oct. 8, 1930, NA, RG 75, OIA, Class. Files, Nav., 69601-1924-044. This later rendering, appearing also as "Tohglai Chischile" in a typescript of the signatures (ibid.), is closer to the name remembered by present residents of the canyons-To'ahedlinii Chiishch'ili, or "Curley-Haired Junction-of-waters Clansman." The council minutes transcription is misleading because it is very close to the name of the Todich'ii'nii or Bitterwater Clan.
25. "Minutes of the Eighth Annual Session of the Navajo Tribal Council," pp. 68-69.
26. Ibid., pp. 70-73; Navajo Tribal Council, Navajo Tribal Council Resolutions, 1922-1951 (Window Rock, Ariz., 1951), p. 40; See also NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 1923-34.
27. Sandoval to Hagerman, July 19, 1930, NA, RG 75, OIA, Gen. Serv., 39005-1930-044.
28. Hagerman to Sandoval, July 24, 1930, ibid.
29. Sandoval et al. to Hunter, Sept. 8, 1930, ibid.
30. Hunter to Hagerman, Sept. 19, 1930, ibid.

31. Hagerman to Hunter, Oct. 2, 1930, ibid.; Hagerman to CIA, Oct. 2, 1930, ibid.
32. Hunter to Hagerman, Oct. 10, 1930, ibid.
33. Patterson et al. to Hunter, Oct. 8, 1930, ibid.
34. Hunter to Hagerman, Oct. 10, 1930, ibid.
35. Scattergood to Hagerman, Oct. 16, 1930, ibid.
36. Hagerman to Nusbaum, Nov. 10, 1930, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 1923-34.
37. Edmund B. Rogers, comp., History of Legislation Relating to the National Park System Through the 82nd Congress (Washington: National Park Service, 1958), C de C, p. 1.
38. Ibid.
39. Hagerman to Cammerer, Apr. 27, 1931, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
40. Albright to Hagerman, May 2, 1931, ibid.
41. Chatelain to Albright, Mar. 10, 1933, encl., p. 1.

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## CHAPTER 3: CHANGES IN THE MONUMENT BOUNDARIES

1. Wirth to Demaray, Aug. 22, 1932, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 1923-34; "Exhibit C," map, n.d., ibid.
2. "Exhibit B," map, n.d., ibid.; "Extracts from Mr. J. B. Hamilton's Reconnaissance Report, Dated Nov. 15, 1932, on Canyon de Chelly," ibid.; Demaray to Nusbaum, Nov. 30, 1932, ibid.
3. Pinkley to Dir., Nov. 11, 1932, ibid.; Kittredge to Dir., Nov. 22, 1932, ibid.
4. Cammerer to Pinkley, Oct. 25, 1932, ibid.; Albright to Supt., SWNM, Nov. 26, 1932, ibid.
5. Wirth to Dir., Nov. 12, 1932, ibid.
6. Kittredge to Dir., Dec. 5, 1932, ibid.
7. Actg. Dir. to Kittredge, Dec. 17, 1932, ibid.
8. Albright to CIA, ibid.
9. Rhoads to Albright, Dec. 28, 1932, ibid.
10. U.S., Congress, Senate, 72d Cong., 2d sess., 1932, S.5190, Calendar 1306, S. Rept. 1211, ibid.
11. U.S., Congress, House, 72d Cong., 2d sess., 1932, HR 13960, Calendar 344, H. Rept. 2037, ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. U.S., Congress, House, 72d Cong., 2d sess., Feb. 5, 1933, H. Rept. 2037, ibid.; U.S., Congress, Senate, 72d Cong., 2d sess., Feb. 13, 1933, Calendar 1306, S. Rept. 1211, ibid.
14. The Congressional Record (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, Feb. 20, 1933).
15. The Congressional Record (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, Feb. 25, 1933).

16. The Congressional Record (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, Mar. 4, 1933).
17. Richey, Sec. to the Pres., to Sec. of Int., Mar. 3, 1933, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
18. Demaray to Pinkley, Mar. 2, 1933, ibid.
19. Pinkley to Dir., Mar. 8, 1933, ibid.
20. Parrott, Actg. Asst. Dir., GLO, to Dir., NPS, July 2, 1934, ibid.
21. Hunter to Kitteridge [sic], May 2, 1934, and encl., Resolution of Canyon de Chelly Chapter, Apr. 28, 1934, ibid.; This organization undoubtedly corresponds at least in part to the present-day Chinle Chapter. During the political turmoil created by the Government's stock reduction program many chapter organizations, all still relatively new, failed to survive. Aubrey W. Williams, Jr., Navajo Political Process, Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, vol. 9 (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1970), p. 40. It has not been ascertained whether the Chinle Chapter is a direct continuation of the older Canyon de Chelly Chapter or whether it was more recently organized under the later tribal program.
22. The preamble to the resolution stated some justifications for Navajo ownership that were ahead of their time and that probably had little real influence in 1934, but they are worth quoting here because of their relevancy today:

Whereas, there are within the Navajo jurisdiction many areas of tremendous scenic beauty and great historical and archaeological interest, which thousands of people from all over the United States are eager to visit, and

Whereas, some of these visitors will be inconsiderate enough to desecrate and even ruin the scenic and scientific value of these areas unless they are protected, and

Whereas, the Navajos have a greater love for their country than any other people can possibly have, and wish to guard against any changes that may make any part of their country less beautiful, and

Whereas, the Navajos know more about their country and always will have greater interest in its welfare than any other people or organization, and

Whereas, the management of our own scientific and scenic areas would give us an additional source of income necessary to maintain our ever-increasing population.

Navajo Tribal Council, Title 19, Chapt. 1, Section 1, p. 235.

23. Navajo Tribal Council, Navajo Tribal Code, 2 vols. (Orford, N.H. : Equity Publishing Corporation,

1962), Vol. 2, Title 19, Chapt. 1, Section 1.

24. Demaray to Sec. of Int., Aug. 14, 1934, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.

25. Albright to Ickes, Sept. 3, 1934, ibid.

26. Bryant to Dir., Oct. 10, 1934, ibid.

The problem received quick attention in Washington. At first it was thought that the best plan would be to return a revision of the boundary description to Congress. [29] The Director asked the General Land Office to prepare a new description that could be used in drafting another bill. [30] The assistant commissioner of the land office, Antionette Funk, thought the current description a good one and suggested that only a survey on the ground could ascertain and correct any problems. Because the land was on an Indian reservation, the survey would have to be requested and paid for by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the estimated cost being \$15,000. [31] Cammerer forwarded Funk's letter to the Bureau and asked whether they could arrange for the survey. [32] He was informed that no funds were available and warned in the following terms of probable Bureau opposition to any bill submitted to Congress:

27. Burney to Pinkley, Mar. 22, 1935, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 4.

28. Pinkley to Dir., May 6, 1935, ibid.

29. Tolson to Cammerer, May 9, 1935, ibid.

30. Cammerer to Dir., GLO, June 1, 1935, ibid.

31. Funk to Dir., July 8, 1935, ibid.

32. Cammerer to CIA, July 12, 1935, ibid.

33. Zimmerman, Asst. CIA, to Cammerer, Aug. 14, 1935, ibid.

34. Stewart to Collier, Feb. 29, 1936, ibid.

35. Collier to Ickes, Mar. 13, 1936, ibid.

36. It should be noted that as early as 1901 the Navajos had registered strong protests against the fencing of a certain tract of land near the mouth of Canyon de Chelly on the grounds that it was holy. Because the objections were sustained by headmen from over a wide area, the agent concluded that only by acceding to their desires could long term trouble be avoided. Hayzlett to CIA, NA, RG 75, OIA, Class. Files, 45797/ Nav 01, copy in files of Navajo Tribal Research Section.

37. Pinkley to Dir., Apr. 10, 1936, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 4.

38. Actg. Dir. to Sec. of Int., May 11, 1936, unsigned, ibid.
39. Collier to Ickes, May 6, 1936, ibid.
40. Ickes to Demaray, May 9, 1936, ibid.
41. Demaray to Sec. of Int., May 12, 1936, ibid.
42. Cammerer to Pinkley, June 29, 1936, ibid.
43. Ickes to Collier, May 13, 1936, ibid.
44. Richey to Supt., SWNM, Oct. 16, 1941, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Central Classified Files 1933-49, Boundaries (General), 602.
45. Actg. Supt., SWNM, to Dir., Dec. 30, 1941, ibid.
46. Drury and Collier to Sec. of Int., May 5, 1942, and "Proposed Western Boundary, Canyon de Chelly National Monument, Arizona," Apr. 16, 1942, both approved by Burlew, May 25, 1942, ibid.
47. Resolution of Canyon de Chelly Chapter, Apr. 28, 1934, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
48. Kittredge to Dir., June 11, 1934, ibid.
49. Richey to Supt., SWNM, Oct. 16, 1941, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, CCF, 602.
50. Burlew to Denman, Nov. 8, 1937, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 4.
51. Shepardson to Brugge, Aug. 14, 1974, encl., NALA files, Chaco Center.
52. For more detail on the general history of Navajo affairs during this period see Williams, Navajo Political Process; Mary Shepardson, Navajo Ways in Government, A Study in Political Process, American Anthropological Association, Mon. 96 (Menasha, Wisc., 1963); David F. Aberle, The Peyote Religion among the Navajo (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966), especially Chpts. 3 through 6; and Robert W. Young, The Navajo Yearbook, 1951-1961; A Decade of Progress, No. 8 (Window Rock, Ariz., 1961).

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## CHAPTER 4: EARLY DEVELOPMENT, 1931-1941

1. H. C. Bryant to H. M. Albright, Feb. 26, 1931, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 1923-34; "Minutes of the Meeting on the Canon de Chelly National Monument, September 5, 1931," NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.

2. "Minutes of the Meeting on the Canon de Chelly National Monument, September 5, 1931," NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Nusbaum to Albright, Dec. 23, 1931, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
22. Albright to Nusbaum, n.d., ibid.
23. Memo, July 28, 1932, ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Florence C. Lister and Robert H. Lister, Earl Morris and Southwestern Archaeology (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), pp. 144-46.
26. Pinkley to Albright, Dec. 30, 1931, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Nusbaum to Albright, Jan. 6, 1932, ibid.
30. Pinkley to Albright, Feb. 4, 1932, ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Memo, July 28, 1932, ibid.
34. Douglas to Albright, Dec. 22, 1930, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 1923-34.
35. Clark to Albright, Jan. 28, 1931, ibid.

36. Pinkley to Hayden, Feb. 17, 1931, ibid.
37. Judd to Albright, Jan. 16, 1932, ibid.; Kittredge to Albright, June 11, 1934, ibid.; Cummings to Chatelain, June 21, 1934, ibid.
38. Telegram, Demaray to Supt., Mesa Verde, July 2, 1934, ibid.
39. Telegram, Pinkley to Dir., July 12, 1934, ibid.
40. Pinkley to Albright, July 2, 1934, ibid.
41. R. H. Holmes to Pinkley, Aug. 3, 1934, ibid.; SWMR, 1934, pp. 58-59.
42. "Extracts from Mr. J. B. Hamilton's Reconnaissance Report, Dated Nov. 15, 1932, on Canyon de Chelly," NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
43. Ibid.
44. SWMR, October 1935.
45. Ibid., December 1935.
46. A. W. Burney to Pinkley, Oct. 1, 1935, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon. C de C, Part 4.
47. SWMR, January 1936.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid., June 1936.
50. Ibid., November 1936.
51. Ibid., November 1936, 1938.
52. Memo, July 28, 1932, NA, RG 79, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
53. "Extracts from Mr. J. B. Hamilton's Reconnaissance Report, Dated Nov. 15, 1932, on Canyon de Chelly," ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. SWMR, Sept. 18, 1932.

56. Ibid., August 1933.
57. Ibid., February 1934.
58. Ibid., November Supplement, 1931-32.
59. Nusbaum to Pinkley, Feb. 15, 1933, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Kittredge to Dir., NPS, Apr. 28, 1934, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 1933-49.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Pinkley to Dir., June 29, 1934, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
66. Pinkley to Vreeland, July 11, 1934, ibid.
67. Vreeland to Pinkley, July 13, 1934, ibid.
68. Pinkley to Vreeland, July 18, 1934, ibid.
69. Winter to Chatelain, July 30, 1934, ibid.
70. SWMR, June, July 1934.
71. Collier to Cammerer, Aug. 3, 1934, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
72. Telegram, Demaray to Kittredge, Aug. 13, 1934, ibid.
73. Memo, Demaray to Sec. of Int., Aug. 14, 1934, ibid.
74. Memo, Sec. of Int. to Demaray, Aug. 13, 1934, ibid.
75. Memo, Demaray to Sec. of Int., Aug. 14, 1934, ibid.
76. Ibid.

77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Telegram, Demaray to Kittredge, Aug. 21, 1934, ibid.
83. Telegram, Kittredge to Dir., Aug. 30, 1934, ibid.
84. SWMR, August 1934.
85. Ibid., October, November 1934.
86. "Station Boss Broadcasting," July 13, 1935, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 4.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid.
89. Cammerer to Collier, Mar. 19, 1936, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Central Classified Files 1933-49.
90. Collier to Cammerer, Mar. 26, 1936, ibid.
91. Faris to Dir., NPS, Dec. 19, 1937, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 4.
92. Ibid.
93. SWMR, March 1939.
94. Ibid., April 1939.
95. Memo to Actg. Reg. Dir., Reg. III, May 9, 1939, DFRC, NPS, L3415.
96. SWMR, July 1940.
97. Ibid.

98. Ibid., November 1932.
99. Copy of L. H. McSparron's trading license, Feb. 28, 1933, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, General, Part 2.
100. Hotel or camp permit, Sept. 18, 1933, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.
101. Demaray to Pinkley, Oct. 11, 1933, ibid.
102. Pinkley to Dir., Off. of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations, Nov. 10, 1933, ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. Demaray to Pinkley, Nov. 20, 1933, ibid.
105. Signed statement by McSparron and witnesses, Dec. 5, 1933, ibid.
106. SWMR, September 1934.
107. Ibid., January Supplement, 1936.
108. McSparron to Pinkley, Mar. 26, 1935, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 1933-49.
109. Pinkley to Dir., NPS, May 6, 1935, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 4.
110. Pinkley to Dir., May 14, 1935, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 1933-49.
111. Demaray to Pinkley, May 21, 1935, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 4.
112. Gable to Knox, June 4, 1935, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 1933-49.
113. Moskey to Supt., SWNM, Aug. 19, 1935, ibid.
114. [Budlong] to Pinkley, June 5, 1935, Canyon de Chelly, C3823.
115. Proposed schedule of rates for the 1935 season, approved by Oscar L. Chapman, Asst. Sec. of Int., Aug. 28, 1935, ibid.
116. Hayden to Cammerer, Apr. 23, 1935, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 1933-49.
117. Murphy to Budlong, Oct. 11, 1935, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 4.

118. Ibid.

119. Budlong to Pinkley, Oct. 28, 1935, ibid.

120. Permit for McSparron, 1936, signed by Pinkley, Jan. 2, 1936, approved by Demaray, Feb. 21, 1936, ibid.

121. Cammerer to Pinkley, June 29, 1936, ibid.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid.

124. Demaray to Supt., SWNM, Aug. 3, 1936, ibid.

125. Pinkley to Dir., Aug. 14, 1936, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 1933-49; Amendments approving revisions, Sept. 9, 1935, ibid.

126. Memo, Tolson to "The Washington Office," Dec. 9, 1936, ibid.

127. Permit for Cozy (L. H.) McSparron, approved Mar. 5, 1937, ibid.; L. H. McSparron, schedule of basic rates for the 1937 season, Mar. 10, 1937, ibid.

128. Demaray to Pinkley, June 26, 1937, ibid.

129. Miller to Faris, July 19, 1938, Canyon de Chelly, C3823.

130. Cronyn to Miller, Apr. 20, 1940, ibid.

131. Miller to Cronyn, May 10, 1940, ibid.

132. Cronyn to Hubbell, May 17, 1940, ibid.

133. SWMR, September 1941.

134. NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 1933-49, 666-01 Canyon de Chelly Electric Lights.

135. SWMR, April 1941.

136. "Extracts from Mr. J. B. Hamilton's Reconnaissance Report, Dated Nov. 15, 1932, on Canyon de Chelly," NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.

137. Ibid.

138. Demaray to Dir., Feb. 15, 1933, ibid.

139. Ibid.

140. Merriam to Pinkley, Feb. 15, 1933, ibid.

141. Albright to Supt., Grand Canyon NP, Oct. 17, 1932, ibid.

142. J. V. Lloyd, Actg. Supt., Grand Canyon NP, to Dir., NPS, Dec. 14, 1932, ibid.

143. Kittredge to Dir., NPS, Apr. 28, 1934, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 1933-49.

144. Ibid.

145. Ibid.

146. Agreement by Navajo Chapter at Canyon de Chelly, Apr. 28, 1934, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 2.

147. Kittredge to Dir., NPS, May 8, 1934, ibid.; Kittredge to Hamilton May 19, 1934, ibid.

148. Kittredge to Hamilton, May 21, 1934, ibid.

149. Kittredge to H. G. Calkins, Dir., SES, Oct. 4, 1934, ibid.

150. Ibid.

151. Ibid.

152. Kittredge to Dir., NPS, Oct. 26, 1934, ibid.

153. Collier to Hugh H. Bennett, Dir., SES, Nov. 1, 1934, ibid.; Collier to Cammerer, Nov. 1, 1934, ibid.

154. Kittredge to Dir., Nov. 8, 1934, ibid.

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160. Pinkley to Dir., NPS, May 4, 1936, ibid.

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162. Demaray to Supt., SWNM, May 12, 1936, ibid.

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165. Faris to Pinkley, Apr. 7, 1937, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, Part 4.

166. Cooperative Agreement, Apr. 10, 1937, DFRC, NPS, C de C, Y14.

167. Pinkley to Faris, Apr. 15, 1937, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5039.

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169. Murphy to Fryer, June 5, 1941, ibid.

170. Ibid.

171. SWMR, October 1939.

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173. Ibid., April 1940.

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175. Ibid., March, May, June 1941.

176. Ibid., September Supplement, 1932.

177. Ibid., September Supplement, 1933.

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185. Bryant to Dir., NPS, Oct. 10, 1934, ibid.

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190. SWMR, June 1936.

191. Ibid., September 1936.

192. Budlong to Pinkley, Mar. 25, 1936, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5027.

193. Ibid.

194. Pinkley to Kittredge, Apr. 7, 1936, ibid.

195. Kittredge to Pinkley, Apr. 22, 1936, ibid.

196. Ibid.

197. Burney to Pinkley, Apr. 14, 1936, ibid.

198. Pinkley to Budlong, Apr. 27, 1936, ibid.

199. Ibid.

200. SWMR, May, August 1937.

201. Ibid., October 1937.

202. Ibid., January 1939.

203. Ibid., July, August, November, December 1939.

204. Ibid., August 1939.

205. Ibid., January 1939.

206. Ibid., February 1939.

207. Ibid., July 1939.

208. Ibid., August 1939.

209. Ibid., September 1939.

210. Ibid., June, July, August 1939.

211. Ibid., November 1939.

212. Cronyn to Pinkley, Oct. 30, 1939, DFRC, NPS, C de C, L3415.

213. Ibid.

214. SWMR, August, September 1940.

215. Ibid., September, November 1940.

216. Ibid., April, July, October 1941.

217. "Annual Wildlife Report for Canyon de Chelly National Monument, 1941," Oct. 1, 1941, DFRC, NPS, C de C, N2623.

218. This is a frequent misconception. Actually the Navajos use fox skins in such ceremonies.

219. "Annual Wildlife Report," Oct. 1, 1941, DFRC, NPS, C de C, N2623.

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## CHAPTER 4: EARLY DEVELOPMENT, 1931-1941 (continued)

### Roads and Trails

One of the conclusions reached at the July 1, 1932, meeting at de Chelly concerned roads and trails. All agreed that it would not be necessary to build a road on the floor of the canyon. They believed that some rim roads would be needed and proper trails should be built to the various ruins. In addition, it was agreed that Navajo workers should be employed in all road and trail construction. [52]

Hamilton's reconnaissance report of 1932 also agreed that roads were unnecessary in the lower portions of the canyon. He "suggested that visitors be taken through lower canyons in greatly oversized balloon-tired cars, using the sandy bed of the wash as a highway. Traces of the travel would be washed away after every flood, leaving the canyon as natural as before." [53]

Concerning rim roads, Hamilton believed that most visitors would rather view the canyon from above. He stated that "the view from the rim is well worthy of exploitation." Visitors could view the ruins, peach orchards, gardens, and Indians themselves from the rim. He estimated that the cost would be \$20,000 for rim roads and trails. [54]

Another problem existed regarding highways to the monument. The best way to reach de Chelly was to drive north from Highway 66, but the road from Ganado to Chinle was not surfaced nor did it contain proper drainage systems. [55] The unsurfaced road, of course, deterred visitors from visiting the monument in bad weather. However, a bridge was constructed over the Nazlini Wash near Chinle which, in addition to another bridge at Ganado, helped keep the road open to de Chelly. [56] An engineer working at de Chelly, C. A. Weintz, summed up the advantages of attracting people to the monument with a good road: "what this country needs is a good road; it can then hold its own with any of the show places of the Southwest." [57]

Consideration was still being given to construction of a road on the canyon floor, even though many believed it impractical because of annual flooding. However, some of the arguments against the project neglected this fact. George Grant, a Park Service photographer, not only opposed roads in the canyon but also wanted to restrict the number of visitors. He believed that "if dudes are permitted to travel up this Canyon they will cause the Service a lot of grief. And if large numbers of dudes go up there the Navajos will probably move out and that would be a mistake. It is too rich a sight to see them travelling up and down the Canyon on their ponies." [58]

Nusbaum also advocated keeping roads out of the canyon floor, stating that "if a highway or a well-traveled road is developed along the canyon floor, the naturalness and primitiveness of the region will be seriously influenced and a considerable part of the original values lost." [59] He was also worried that traffic on the canyon floor would badly "scar" the sand. [60]

Regarding possible routes of higher roads, Nusbaum suggested one that followed the north rim of Canyon del Muerto. He felt that a road built away from the rim, which occasionally neared exceptional viewing areas, would also serve a purpose. Visitors could then leave their vehicles and approach the sites. [61]

In 1934 plans were laid to work on White House Trail, and a meeting was held at de Chelly to discuss such a project. Attending the meeting were Superintendent John G. Hunter, Southern Navajo Indian Agency; Hugh Calkins, regional director, Soil Erosion Service; Tom Allen, lay assistant, Bureau of Animal Industry; F. A. Kittredge, chief engineer; Budlong; and McSparron. [62] Discussion revealed that the 1930 census showed an Indian population of 365 living in Canyon de Chelly. They had about 4,000 sheep and goats grazing in the canyon. Superintendent Hunter said that Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner John Collier instructed him "to undertake development work and Indian relief in Canyon de Chelly at the earliest moment." [63] Erosion work and trail work were to be conducted.

All agreed that the canyon rim opposite White House Ruin "must become a Lookout point, reached by automobile, and that a horse and pedestrian trail must be constructed from this point to the canyon floor." A second trail was also considered from the canyon floor near the junction of Canyon de Chelly and Canyon del Muerto to the rim. Both planned trails were studied and surveyed by engineers. [64]

Pinkley sent the Park Service Director the plans and profile for White House Trail that he had approved and signed. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was funding the project, and since they could not authorize funds for building a tourist trail, they approved the project as a path for sheep and goats. [65]

Opposition to the proposed trail was voiced by Frederick K. Vreeland of Santa Fe. Pinkley sent him a letter expressing his reasons for favoring the trail and stressing that it would not lead to an increase in vandalism. [66] Vreeland, however, was unhappy with Pinkley's reasons for the trail and declared that the Park Service was not sufficiently concerned with preservation. [67] Pinkley replied that the Service would soon have a full-time person stationed there. In addition the inhabitants of a Navajo farm at the foot of the trail would watch to see if visitors descended, which Pinkley doubted they would. [68] The historical assistant of the Park Service, W. J. Winter, supported Pinkley in this controversy. [69]

A Mr. Gray conducted surveys for the trail. By July 1934, with 33 Navajos under a white foreman working on it, the trail was 80 percent completed. [70]

Collier, hesitant to approve a road from Chinle to White House Overlook, was impressed with Gray's work on the trail but objected to plans of asphaltting it on the grounds it would destroy the natural beauty of the canyon. [71] Collier also questioned the tunnel work there, [72] and in fact, asked that the Canyon de Chelly National Monument be returned to Bureau of Indian Affairs jurisdiction. [73]

The Secretary of Interior wrote Demaray asking for a report on road work at de Chelly. [74] Responding to this, Demaray stated that the trail work and erosion work were "the result of a development program drafted more than a year ago." [75] He stated that

no plans have been considered for the building of roads on the floor of either Del Muerto or Monument canyons. During periods when the canyons are dry visitors may be transported in automobile over the sandy floors with oversize tires. Such traffic should not interfere seriously with the Indian life in the canyon, which the National Park Service is extremely anxious to maintain in unimpaired condition. [76]

Furthermore, Demaray stated that there was already a rim road (which needed improvement) and that the White House Trail was being built from this road into the canyon in order to "permit closer access to this ruin [White House] when cars cannot get up the floor of the canyon." [77] He explained that the project was set up by the Indian Service ECW project and utilized Indian labor under the direction of Park Service engineers. He said "the project was considered and agreed to in principle by both the Indian and National Park Services." [78]

In explaining the trail and tunnel, he stated that they were "planned with the safety and convenience of the traveler in mind, and according to the best Park Service standards." The tunnel was built "to prevent excessive scarring, as well as [to] pass dangerous points with a maximum of safety." He stated that oil surface treatment was proposed in order to eliminate dust. [79]

Citing the recent appointment of a custodian for de Chelly, Demaray said that the area would be properly protected and the custodian would "coordinate the various interests of the Indians with those of the visitor." In addition, he believed

that the National Park Service is the proper agency to protect and interpret archeological areas such as that at Canyon de Chelly. It is felt that the rights of all American citizens in these areas transcend those of any individual or group of individuals, just as in other cases where the Nation, by action of the Congress or Executive, has set aside sites because of their national scenic, historic, or scientific importance. [80]

In closing, Demaray recommended that "no effort be made to amend the Canyon de Chelly Act to return the area to the Navajo Tribe as suggested in Mr. Collier's memorandum. . ." [81]

Collier, in turn, approved route 1 of section c for the trail, but objected to oiling or asphaltting the path. [82] Collier then agreed to the reallocation of \$6,000 from the erosion control project to trail work. [83]

Meanwhile, Budlong was very pleased with the work on the trail. He believed it was the "main gateway" to the canyon. [84] By October the trail was 3,419 feet in length and the tunnel was almost completed. In November Budlong reported that the White House Trail was completed. It was 4,085 feet long with a descent of approximately 548 feet. [85]

Budlong had several ideas on road development at de Chelly: (1) he did not "want to see this Monument have any roads which will connect at any halfway points with any main highway"; [86] (2) he wanted all visitors to check in and out at headquarters; (3) he frowned on having rim roads located too close to the Indians who lived on the rims during the winter; and (4) he believed that seeing cars along the rims from the bottom of the canyon would detract from the area's beauty. [87] Stressing the need to build roads carefully and consider their possible effects, Budlong hoped that the Park Service would follow his suggestions and use foresight in their planning. [88]

In 1936 Cammerer wrote to Collier commenting on the poor condition of the road from the Thunderbird Ranch to the "Lookout" and on to Ganado. He stated that he was against overdevelopment of roads in the area, but this road was so in need of repair that the Park Service would provide \$500-\$1,000 if agreed to by him. Cammerer ended his letter by lamenting about his car getting "hung up" and scraped badly on this road. [89] Collier thought that work on this road was justified but wanted to check with his superintendent first. He added that he had never had trouble with his car on that road but supposed that the new "low-slung" cars might have a harder time. [90]

As the years progressed, more work was done on roads leading to de Chelly as well as on roads and trails within the monument. In 1937 the second custodian of Canyon de Chelly, Johnwill Faris, wrote the Park Service Director in reference to a complaint about a stretch of road within de Chelly's boundaries. Both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Department of Agriculture said that the road was under Park Service jurisdiction, which made Faris happy because the actual ownership was hazy. A Mr. H. H. Collins complained of the inherent hazardous conditions of the road, and Faris mentioned in his letter the numerous blind curves, high centers, and bad mud holes. [91] Besides recommending that repair work be done on the Lukachukai road north of headquarters, Faris hoped that it would be finished quickly because of the fact that more and more Indians were driving vehicles. He believed that many of them were poor drivers and if one drove off the rim, "it would be most embarrassing to our Service." [92]

By 1939 several fairly easy routes to Canyon de Chelly were suggested: one was from Gallup or Chambers on Highway 66; another was from Kayenta and the Hopi Villages; and a third was from Shiprock by way of Sweetwater and Round Rock. [93] The road from Chinle to Lukachukai was considered less preferable because of the wash at Chinle. [94] The best route, however, seemed to be from Gallup. Pinkley wrote that the road had been improved greatly and it took only about 2 hours to make the trip. [95]

However, in direct opposition to Pinkley's remarks were the sentiments of Ranger Quintin Bradley at de Chelly. He said visitation was low because of the bad roads leading to the monument and said that people told him that the road from Gallup to Canyon de Chelly was "little more than wagon tracks." Furthermore, rangers at Grand Canyon declared that traveling on roads via the Hopi Village to de Chelly was "practically suicide." [96]

During the years 1940 and 1941 work was done by the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division services on White House Trail, the roadway from Twin Trails to Mummy Cave, and other rim road and trail projects. [97] As the war years approached, there was still a great deal of work needed on roads and trails.

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3. Ibid., September 1943.
4. Ibid., January 1942.
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6. Charlie R. Steen, "Excavations at Antelope House and Mummy Cave River, Canyon de Chelly National Monument," June 1942, and Charlie R. Steen, "Ruins Stabilization at Canyon de Chelly National Monument, 1942, Antelope House and Mummy Cave Ruins," NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 740-02 Archaeology.
7. SWMR, May 1942.
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9. Series of photos, dated March-June 1942, of revetments, tetrahedrons, and plantings near White House, and series of photos, dated December 1942, of willow spiders at Antelope House, NA, RG 79, NPS, Nat. Mon., C de C, 601-18 Soil and Moisture.
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## CHAPTER 6:

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20. Guillet to Reg. Dir., June 3, 1947, DFRC, NPS, C de C, Y2523; SWMR, June 1947.
21. Guillet to Reg. Dir., June 27, 1947, DFRC, NPS, C de C, Y2523.
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62. SWMR, January 1948.
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10. SWMR, September 1950.
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37. "Comments on Boundary Status Report for Canyon de Chelly National Monument," Nov. 27, 1951, ibid.
38. Reg. Dir, to Dir., Nov. 29, 1951, ibid.
39. SWMR, September 1951.
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41. Ibid., January 1952.
42. Ibid., February 1952.
43. Ibid., March 1952.
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45. Ibid., November 1952.
46. Ibid., various months, 1952. Only Bright mentions the use of county equipment on reservation roads. While it is possible that the county did some work here in the 1950s, it seems more likely that Bright misidentified equipment he saw working on the approach roads.
47. Ibid., November 1952, October 1953.
48. Wirth to Reg. Dir., Mar. 25, 1952, DFRC, NPS, C de C, L1417.
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63. Ibid., October 1952.
64. Ibid., November 1952.
65. Ibid., February 1953; Cozy is said to have vacillated in his preference for Park Service, tribal, or Bureau administration according to his perception of changing regulations as favorable or unfavorable. Robert L. Morris, personal communication, Sept. 27, 1974. Whether he had these changes of opinion in order to stimulate bureaucratic rivalries to his own advantage is uncertain. At the regional director's request, the chief counsel sent copies of the Navajo Tribal Council Resolution of July 8, 1930, Rhoads's instructions to Hagerman of July 1, 1930, and the western boundary agreement of March 5, 1942, for possible use at the forthcoming meeting. Chief Counsel to Reg. Dir., Nov. 7, 1952, C de C, H14.
66. SWMR, November 1952.
67. Ibid., January 1953.
68. Ibid., February, March 1953.
69. Ibid., April, May 1953.
70. Ibid., October 1953.
71. Davis to Dir., Jan. 11, 1954, in SWMR, December 1953.
72. SWMR, June 1953.
73. Ibid., September, December 1953.
74. Aubuchon, personal communication, Nov. 19, 1974.

75. SWMR, May 1953.
76. Ibid., February, November 1953.
77. Ibid., April 1953.
78. Patrow to Dir., Feb. 12, 1953, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D30.
79. Bright to Gen. Supt., July 8, 1953, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5015.
80. SWMR, October 1953.
81. Ibid., February 1953.
82. Ibid., June 1953.
83. Ibid., January, February, March 1954.
84. Ibid., March, April 1954.
85. Ibid., June, August 1954.
86. Ibid., November, December 1954.
87. Ibid., May 1954.
88. Ibid., June 1954.
89. Ibid., July 1954.
90. Ibid., September, October 1954.
91. Ibid., December 1954.
92. Ibid., February 1954.
93. Minutes of the Navajo Tribal Council Meeting, Feb. 11, 1954, pp. 115-18.
94. Ibid., pp. 143-45.
95. SWMR, March 1954.

96. Ibid., April 1954.
97. Gastellum to Dir., Nov. 9, 1954, in SWMR, November 1954.
98. SWMR, January 1954.
99. Ibid., April 1954.
100. Ibid., July 1954.
101. Aubuchon to Gen. Supt., July 21, 1954, DFRC, NPS, C de C, L3415.
102. SWMR, August 1954.
103. Ibid., November 1954.
104. Ibid., December 1954.
105. Aubuchon to Gen. Supt., Nov. 2, 1954, DFRC, NPS, C de C, K1815.
106. Aubuchon to Gen. Supt., Nov. 19, 1954, ibid.
107. SWMR, January, February 1955.
108. Ibid., January 1955.
109. Ibid., January, February, March 1955.
110. Ibid., February 1955.
111. Davis to Dir., May 10, 1955, in SWMR, April 1955.
112. SWMR, December 1955.
113. Ibid., May, June 1955.
114. Davis to Dir., Aug. 10, 1955, in SWMR, July 1955.
115. SWMR, February 1955.
116. Ibid., March 1955.

117. Ibid., June 1955.
118. Ibid.; Aubuchon to Gen. Supt., June 21, 1955, C de C, Y22.
119. SWMR, July 1955.
120. Ibid., September 1955.
121. Ibid., August 1955.
122. Aubuchon to Gen. Supt., May 14, 1955, DFRC, NPS, C de C, L1415.
123. SWMR, June 1955..
124. Ibid., June, July 1955.
125. Ibid., June 1955.
126. Ibid., October 1955.
127. Ibid., December 1955.
128. Ibid., July 1955.
129. Miller to Supt., Aug. 4, 1955, DFRC, NPS, C de C, L58.
130. Aubuchon to Reg. Dir., Aug. 17, 1955, ibid.
131. Gastellum to Dir., Dec. 8, 1955, in SWMR, November 1955; Gastellum to Gen. Supt., Nay. Agency, Nov. 25, 1955, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5015.
132. Gastellum to Gen. Supt., Nay. Agency, Nov. 25, 1955, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5015.
133. Spaulding to Asst. Gen. Supt., SWNM, n.d., ibid.
134. SWMR, November 1955.
135. Ibid., December 1955.
136. Ibid., January 1956.
137. Ibid., February 1956.

138. Ibid., February, March, December 1956.
139. Ibid., May, June, July 1956.
140. Ibid., August 1956.
141. Ibid., September, October, November 1956.
142. Davis to Dir., Dec. 13, 1956, in SWMR, November 1956.
143. SWMR, July, August, September, October, November 1956.
144. Ibid., March 1956.
145. Ibid., December 1956.
146. Ibid., August 1956.
147. Maxwell, Chinle Subagency Supt., to Colliflower, Asst. Gen. Supt., Nay. Agency, Nov. 14, 1956, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5015.
148. SWMR, December 1956.
149. Ibid., October 1956.
150. Ibid., May 1956.
151. Ibid., November 1955.
152. Gastelum to Dir., Jan. 9, 1957, in SWMR, December 1956.
153. SWMR, March 1956.
154. Ibid., March, June 1956.
155. Ibid., August 1956.
156. Aubuchon to Gen. Supt., Apr. 4, 1956, DFRC, NPS, C de C, L3423.
157. Aubuchon to Gallawas, Wilson, and Powell, Apr. 16, 1956, ibid.
158. Navajo Tribal Council, Title 5, Chapt. 11, Sections 921-923.

159. Henson, "Narrative Report," n.d., DFRC, NPS, C de C, A7623.
160. Navajo Tribal Council, Minutes of the Navajo Tribal Council Meeting (Oct. 22-Nov. 2, 1956), Nov. 1-2, 1956, pp. 390-94.
161. Henson to Reg. Dir., May 25, 1957, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A7015.
162. "Canyon de Chelly Travel Statistics," DFRC, NPS, C de C, A2621.
163. L. R. Kerst to Henson, Aug. 7, 1957, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A9015.
164. Henson to Kerst, Sept. 6, 1957, ibid.
165. Erik K. Reed to Henson, Sept. 11, 1957, DFRC, NPS, C de C, K1815.
166. Thomas to ed., July 30, 1957, DFRC, NPS, C de C, K34.
167. Henson to Reg. Dir., Sept. 30, 1957, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A3615.
168. Chief, Branch of Communications, BIA, to Area Finance Office, BIA, June 11, 1957, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5015.
169. Ratcliff to Actg. Reg. Chief, Branch of Park Forest and Wildlife Protection, Oct. 30, 1957, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A5427.
170. Henson to Gen. Supt., July 28, 1957, DFRC, NPS, C de C, L1417.
171. Harold M. Ratcliff to Supt., Feb. 4, 1957, ibid.
172. Henson, "Boundary Status Report," Feb. 11, 1957, ibid.

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



### CHAPTER 7:

#### THE LULL, 1950-1957 (continued)

With the prospects of ever-increasing visitation, official tribal interest in the concession continued to grow. A meeting was held at Window Rock on February 12 and was attended by Bureau and tribal officials; Bright; Davis of Southwestern Monuments; Koehler, representing the region; and Cozy, to discuss "the future status of the McSparron concession contract in relation to the ownership of the land and buildings. . . ." [81] No new decisions seem to have resulted from this effort and in June it was reported that the tribe would erect its own motel and restaurant near the monument. [82] That the report was at the very least premature could not have been known, and both Cozy and the Service were doubtlessly concerned.

Aubuchon began the year of 1954 at Canyon de Chelly experiencing low visitation, a trend that lasted through March and gave him a good opportunity to become acquainted with his new area. [83] Much of the time seems to have been spent in routine work preparing for the tourist season, which began suddenly in April. Visitation jumped from 104 in March to 1,125 the following month. [84] Work on the self-guiding booklet for the White House Trail progressed slowly and guided tours were continued to the ruin until late in July when the booklet was available and put into use, although it was not fully completed until early August. [85] The trail was considered a success and in November work was begun on another booklet to be used with the Thunderbird tours. [86]

A new sewer line was completed in May, [87] and in June a stile was erected over the stone jetty in front of White House to give visitors better access to the ruin. [88] July brought the delivery of a new trailer house. [89] By late summer, storms and vandalism had damaged both White House Trail and the interpretive markers along it, requiring considerable repair work. [90] Increased road maintenance by the Bureau helped keep roads in better condition. [91]

Much that happened involved the Navajos. The major event was the sale of Thunderbird Ranch. Cozy's continuing efforts to dispose of his business finally bore fruit, but he became seriously ill just at the time the sale was being consummated. [92] His prospective purchasers were John Nelson, A. B. Nelson, and Ida Mae Borum. Transfer of the lease required tribal approval, and, because of the complications involved in the three-way administration of the area, the tribal attorney, Norman M. Littell, felt that it should be acted upon by the full council. He had a resolution prepared for that purpose and presented it to the council on February 11. Howard Gorman, the councilman from Ganado was curious as to the identity of the purchasers, who were not present at the council session. Dick Clark, trading supervisor, identified A. B. Nelson as vice-president of Babbitt Brothers of Flagstaff and John Nelson as his father and also a Babbitt employee. Mrs.

Borum was former owner of the Leupp Trading Post. Clark thought that the Babbitts would have no direct interest in the Thunderbird, but thought that the business would do most of its wholesale trade with them. At that point a short recess was taken, and when the council reconvened Littell apologized for not knowing of the Babbit involvement. It was decided to redraft the resolution and action was postponed until the following day. [93]

The new resolution merely provided that

The officers of the Tribe be and they hereby are authorized and empowered to approve on behalf of the Tribe a lease submitted by the National Park Service, to L. H. McSparron or to any purchasers approved by the Advisory committee, the said lease to be subject to such changes, alterations, terms and conditions as the Advisory Committee in its discretion deems advisable and in the best interests of the Navajo Tribe.

The resolution was duly moved, seconded, and passed without opposing votes. In the discussion preceding the vote, however, Annie D. Wauneka stated at some length her views regarding the monument, which are worth quoting because they seem to reflect fairly well the feeling on the tribal level at this time:

Over a period of time we have heard complaints against the operators of the Monument around Canyon De Chelly. There are many Navajo lands involved. These Navajos have been using lands on the floor of the canyon, on the mesas above the canyon for a long time. We have heard these complaints and while we have not made an immediate study or surveys, but we have heard complaints that these Monument authorities have taken it upon themselves to tell how these Navajos should live in the Canyon or on top of the mesas of the Canyon. I do not know how many of you have heard it, but I am sure that you all have been aware of the situation and over a period of time you can go over there and see and investigate and see how the Monument authorities are operating and how to reconcile the Navajo livelihood in that area. In the withdrawal of these Monument lands there were certain provisions made which we have never heard of or know very little about. It is possible that we can revise the provisions of that withdrawal order so that we can satisfy the Navajos who are living in that area. In the first place, we have to have the interest of the Navajo in the acquisition of lands on how much rental we can receive from any concession in that area. We have to look after the livelihood of the Navajo first.

George Hubbard, a councilman from the area, challenged her statements, claiming that he had not heard any complaint from the people. A thorough discussion of the matter did not ensue, however. [94]

Somehow the council's objections to the Nelsons were overcome and the following month the advisory committee voted approval of the sale to all three prospective purchasers. [95] On April 20 Cozy McSparron left Chinle after 41 years, the manager for the new owners, Miles Hedrick, having arrived the day before. [96] Absentee landlords at the guest ranch caused some inconvenience in administration. In November Luis A. Gastellum of the Southwestern Monuments office had to visit Winslow in order to discuss business matters with A. B. Nelson. [97]

As suggested by Hubbard's speech to the tribal council, local Navajo interests were not entirely coincident with those of the tribe, but relations within the area seem to have continued smoothly in most respects throughout the year. Aubuchon reported the construction of a fence to keep sheep out of White House Ruin in January. [98] The next month CBS was taking photographs in the canyons for a television show, Navajos being included and no problems reported. [99] A survey was made of use of electricity in order to determine whether the monument and the Thunderbird should obtain their power from the Bureau. [100] Planning for a new campground entailed getting local permission for use of the land. Aubuchon had canvassed all but one of the local leaders when a visiting Bureau official suggested going over their heads and getting authorization from the advisory committee if he should encounter opposition, a suggestion that Aubuchon did not reject. He was able, however, to contact the remaining man, Joe Carrol, and found him receptive to the idea, especially when told that the old tables would be moved to "the pump house site for Navajo use." [101]

Of interest in regard to Navajo affairs is Aubuchon's report on a visit to Massacre Cave in search of bones for study by physical anthropologists. Perhaps fortunately for his continued good rapport with the Navajos he failed to find any suitable for this purpose. An enigmatic mention is made of shellacked bones supposedly returned to the cave previously and his failure to find them on this visit. [102]

The planting program with the Bureau of Indian Affairs resumed for 2 weeks in November with removal of more cuttings from White House and Antelope House, where the abundant growth threatened to invade the ruins. Navajo interest was so high that they did all the labor free. [103] By the end of the year Aubuchon felt so close to his Navajo neighbors that he was gathering material on their legends and trying to authenticate the Spider Rock story. [104] This was probably an outgrowth of his continuing work to expand the self-guiding interpretive program by the use of easel displays at Junction and Spider Rock overlooks and on the White House Trail [105] and to develop a booklet for use on the Thunderbird tours. [106]

The normal low visitation of the winter season was even less than usual due to severe weather. [107] Two visitors were stuck on the Sawmill Road and had to hike 18 miles through snow over 2 feet deep to reach headquarters. A white man employed by the trader at Nazlini and several Navajos were frozen during the cold weather. [108] Work at the monument consisted largely of what could be accomplished indoors. Work on the guidebook for the canyon progressed considerably and a rough draft was submitted in March. [109] It is interesting to note that monument personnel finally learned that Canyon del Muerto had been named by Stevenson rather than after the Massacre Cave incident. This was 3 years after Park Service archaeologist Albert H Schroeder had uncovered the fact in an old Bureau of American Ethnology report. [110] Published in cooperation with the concessioner, the guidebook was edited and sent to the printer in April. [111] The initial edition of 500 copies was successfully utilized and the supply exhausted before the end of the season. [112] In spite of the increased use of self-guided trails and wayside exhibits, guided tours were still given, but at a rate of only once a week on the average. [113]

The yearly increase in visitation had put a strain on the facilities of most Park Service areas. By 1955 funding was beginning to catch up with needs and Mission 66 was inaugurated to stimulate this trend. [114] The first major project for Canyon de Chelly was the new campground. Work began as early as February with the removal of trees and fencing. [115] In March the roads were staked and materials hauled.

Equipment rented from the Bureau helped cut costs and Eugene Mott, supervisor of construction and maintenance, was sent to oversee the work. [116] Although the area was not complete, visitor use of the campground seems to have begun in June. [117] Ants in the new area were so bothersome, however, that three parties of tourists were forced to abandon their campsites after nightfall. [118] Dr. Massey of the Forest Insect and Disease Laboratory in Albuquerque came to look over the situation and recommended spraying with chlordane, which proved to be an effective solution. [119] The completion of the campground on September 3 put the monument in good shape for future years. It was already being used and Aubuchon enthusiastically reported that on one night he had counted five trailers there. [120]

August brought heavy rains and floods in the canyons. Several hogans and an orchard were destroyed by the high runoff, and many of the oak jetties built in the canyons were also washed out. On August 10 Seasonal Ranger Delmar A. Dyerson got the Park Service jeep stuck in quicksand in the main canyon. The Thunderbird's canyon car came to the rescue and both were hit by a wall of water before the jeep could be pulled out. It was necessary to leave the vehicles overnight, and they were found half-buried the next day. The jeep was considered a total loss by the Government, but the concessioners decided to dismantle their vehicle completely and attempt to clean it. [121]

Relations with the Navajos were variable, but they were quite good with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Early in the year Aubuchon recommended no changes in the boundaries, believing that any road matters could be easily worked out with the Bureau. [122] In June a three-way, 20-year contract between the new concessioners, the Park Service, and the Navajo tribe was signed. [123] Details of the negotiations leading to this contract have not been uncovered.

David Gorman was still on the staff at de Chelly and he and Aubuchon joined a new volunteer fire department organized in Chinle in June, attending monthly fire drills. [124] Probably this organization was primarily the work of white residents of Chinle and Navajo participation was limited to a few of the more educated tribal members in the area, many of whom were likely not members of the local chapter.

Vandalism had become a problem after the installation of interpretive devices away from the headquarters area. While some of the damage may well have been done by white visitors, Aubuchon was inclined to blame most of it on Navajo activities. Whether any of this resulted from local resentment of Park Service operations is difficult to determine. In June it was necessary to replace seven of the stakes marking stations on the self-guiding trail to White House. Aubuchon commented, "If our neighbors use their feet to break the new stakes it is my belief and fondest hope that a toe bone or two will also suffer." [125] The problem did not occur again until October, when six markers were replaced with heavier ones. In the same month the drain plug chains were stolen from the campground comfort stations and only locks prevented the theft of two garbage cans. [126] In December Aubuchon decided that replacement of all the White House Trail markers with larger and stronger ones was needed. He blamed the repeated loss on "young Navajo vandals." [127]

His relations with Navajo adults seemed unmarred by these incidents. In August he received Navajo assistance during a survey of Navajo place-names and trails in the canyons. [128] In the same month Hugh M. Miller, regional director, asked him to assist in Park Service efforts to work out "a plan for the

development of the recreation resources of Monument Valley." A proposal had been made in October 1954 to the Advisory Committee of the Navajo Tribal Council, which was reportedly well received. Council action was awaited, but in the meantime the tribe had set up an Office of Land Use and Surveys, and until this action was approved by the Bureau and subsequently funded by the tribe nothing could be done. Richard F. Van Valkenburgh was to be head of the new office and Miller wanted to know whether he was on duty in this capacity yet. Miller felt that he had received his information under confidential circumstances and he hoped that Aubuchon could give him an official report without disturbing the good relations that existed with the tribe. [129] Aubuchon contacted Robert W. Young, assistant to the superintendent at Window Rock, and learned that Van Valkenburgh would probably not be placed in the new position until the end of September after approval of the budget. He did confirm the fact that Van Valkenburgh would be the man to deal with regarding developments at Monument Valley. [130]

In November Luis A. Gastellum, assistant general superintendent of Southwestern Monuments, Thomas R. Jones, architect, and Aubuchon met in Gallup with various Bureau officials including C. Warren Spaulding, general superintendent of the Navajo Agency, to discuss the details of obtaining electric power and water from the Bureau at Chinle. [131] The Park Service representatives explained their needs: current consumption of water reached a peak of 166,000 gallons in the summer months, and increased use was expected as visitation grew; electricity was used at a rate of fifteen kilowatts, with a similar increase anticipated. The Bureau thought that they could meet this demand. The Park Service was to pay for these services at cost or at rates comparable to those in some nearby community, but they wanted to compare this proposed agreement with a similar one already in effect between the Bureau and the Atomic Energy Commission. [132] The Bureau also reserved the right to discontinue service at any time should the Bureau's facilities require extra power, but Spaulding thought this event unlikely, especially if the Park Service would help fund the development of additional generating capacities. [133] Aubuchon judged the meeting successful, but felt that final agreement and actual delivery of utility services were still a few years in the future. [134]

The year ended with the monument under Navajo management for the first time when Aubuchon took a vacation and left David Gorman in charge. [135] Gorman took care of the visitors by himself during this period, and because the tourists had little knowledge of and great curiosity about the Navajo way of life, he was so successful that he was inspired to recommend expansion of this aspect of the interpretive program by constructing a hogan to show "just how they live." He aroused the interest of other Navajos, who offered to assist in its construction. [136]

Aubuchon was receptive to the idea and planned to submit a construction proposal, but nothing more seems to have been done. [137]

Work on improvements in the interpretive program continued, however, and several changes in display arrangements were made at the visitor contact station at monument headquarters. [138] The most significant innovation was the development of a program of slide talks for evening programs. Albert G. Henson, who replaced Aubuchon as superintendent in May, and his seasonal ranger, Norman Thomas, began to collect slides for this use in June and July. [139] Two such programs were presented in August and seem to have been well received. Apparently they had to use their own equipment for the presentations, because the

projector and screen ordered from Globe were late in arriving. [140] Three more of the evening talks were given in September and a few each month into the fall, reflecting the limited time the two men could devote to this activity. [141] One of the slides, combining the Park Service emblem with a statement of the purpose of the Service, brought Henson a \$20 incentive award. [142] Personally conducted tours were still being given, but again their number depended on the amount of time that could be programmed away from other activities. [143]

Expansion of the self-guiding concept helped compensate for the required absence of personnel. A dispenser for the White House Trail booklet was erected at the head of the trail along with an easel display, [144] and toward the end of the year stands were built for three new wayside exhibits. [145]

Visitation again reached record highs and the new campground was sometimes filled to capacity. Patrolling of the rim and the canyons was possible only on the days when both Henson and Thomas were on duty. [146]

Negotiations with the Bureau for water and power dragged on throughout the year. One bottleneck was the lack of sufficient generating capacity at Chinle, and once this had been solved a slowdown occurred during the administrative processes. [147] Final permission and allocation of funds came in December. [148]

Work on a new master plan for the area included a visit to the monument on September 27-30 by General Superintendent Davis, Landscape Architects Jerome C. Miller, Paul Thomas, and Glenn Hendrix, Architect Harold A. March, Archeologist Albert H. Schroeder, and Naturalist Earl Jackson. The party covered the area by air, car, jeep, and on foot, and felt that they had solved their problems as a result. [149]

There was some soil and moisture work in the spring. Again the lush vegetation at White House needed thinning and provided stock for planting elsewhere in the canyons. Surplus poles and supplies were given to local Navajos who wanted to do protective work of their own. [150]

In November Gordon Vivian, with Richert as his assistant, brought Navajo stabilization crews from Chaco Canyon to do work on Antelope House and White House, the projects lasting about 2 weeks. [151] Richert prepared a report on the White House work in December and January. [152]

Tribal relations were again rather variable. Early in the year it was necessary to replace sixteen markers along the White House Trail, and Aubuchon hoped that the new dispenser for the trail booklets would not be molested. [153] Van Valkenburgh had assumed his duties with the tribe and began a program designed to improve enforcement of the Antiquities Act on tribal lands, but his work also included research within the monument area for the tribal land claims case. [154] Monument personnel put up warning signs based on the Antiquities Act, perhaps supplied by the tribe. [155]

Aubuchon's administration ended with an act that was undoubtedly offensive to many Navajos, although he probably had no intimation of its complications because no protests were noted at the time. In March three members of the Sierra Club, Mark Powell, Jerry Gallawas, and Don M. Wilson, arrived to attempt an ascent

of Spider Rock. The climb required 3 days, March 27-30, one night being spent on a ledge about halfway up the spire. [156] Aubuchon gave them full Park Service cooperation in this undertaking and issued them a "certificate of accomplishment" attesting to the success of their venture and commending their "splendid cooperation . . . in regard to National Park Service rules and regulations." [157] The long-range effect of this climb on Navajo attitudes would not become apparent for some time.

In May the tribal council passed a resolution making it "unlawful and a trespass" for anyone other than a Navajo to guide visitors for compensation within the reservation without paying for a license and giving 10 percent of the receipts to the tribe. [158] Whether this new regulation was applied to the Thunderbird tour operation is not known from available documentation.

A joint investigation of an accidental death resulting from a fall over the canyon rim was made by the Park Service, the Bureau, the Navajo Tribal Police, and the Public Health Service in August. [159]

An event that did not apply directly to Canyon de Chelly did, nonetheless, reveal a developing current of thought in the tribal council that had to be given consideration in all Park Service areas in Navajo country. Congress was considering legislation to establish roadless areas. There was the possibility that this legislation would permanently establish as roadless those areas on the Navajo Reservation designated by the Secretary of the Interior in 1937, apparently as an aspect of Collier's opposition to road building. The council was well aware of the importance of roads in bringing services to their people and in facilitating economic development, and unanimously opposed any limitations on road building. The third section of the resolution, however, was directed toward the park program and deserves quotation in full:

3. The Navajo Tribal Council approves in principle the establishment and maintenance of National Parks in various areas of the United States where all American citizens, including Navajo(s) may go on vacations to enjoy scenic grandeur untouched by development for economic purposes. However, the Navajo Tribal Council feels that such public parks should be established only on publicly owned land and under conditions that will not deprive the customary users of such land for their livelihood. The Navajo Tribal Council points out that the Navajo Indian Reservation is the private property of the Navajo people upon which they are dependent for their sustenance and that consequently it is not available and should not be taken for national park purposes or similar public recreational purposes. [160]

The burgeoning growth of the tribal government, fueled by oil money, rising educational attainments and expectations, and increasing tribal nationalism, was beginning to make itself felt in ways that more and more frequently did not coincide with Federal policies. Expectations that the Bureau could manipulate tribal support for all of its plans were no longer valid, and the diversity of opinion within the tribe, and at times between tribal and local chapter and district council levels, were more likely to indicate strengths than weaknesses as the Navajos asserted a new spirit of independence.

Henson was to be the last superintendent to escape the necessity of devoting a sizeable portion of his time to Navajo relations. The shortness of his incumbency may well have been a factor in this, for much of the groundwork laid by Guillet had been lost through turnovers in personnel. He had the advantage of a somewhat larger number of Navajo employees than many of his predecessors, but his was still the only

permanent position. David Gorman was still the maintenance man, with two laborers, Guy Tso and Francis Tayah, working under him. [161] Visitation continued to grow, reaching a new record again in 1957. [162]

The work load was as much as the small staff could handle and perhaps more. Early in August Henson received a request from Anthony-Worldwide Productions to do some filming for the movie The Big Country in Canyon de Chelly. The proposed work was not to involve a major portion of the production, but the firm wanted the proper permission in time for filming in October. [163] Henson found that he had to settle "certain jurisdictional aspects of the issuance of such a permit" before he could reply. His answer, sent almost a month later, stated his determination of current policy for such matters:

To obtain the permit it will be necessary to submit an application, following the form of the sample enclosed, to Mr. G. Warren Spaulding, General Superintendent, Navajo Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of The Interior, Window Rock, Arizona, and to Mr. Paul Jones, Chairman, Navajo Tribal Council. One application should be made out to the above individuals jointly and provision for their separate approval should be made at the close of the application.

. . . . .

If a set will be required or if the prehistoric ruins of this Monument will be involved, other than simply photographing them, please include information in detail concerning this phase on an addendum sheet. . . .

. . . . .

Nothing which would endanger or damage the ruins in any way will be permitted.

All rules and regulations of The National Park Service, . . . will be in force and must be adhered to. [164]

The weather interfered with interpretive activities that summer and on several occasions the evening slide program was rained out. Henson was advised to keep a record of these occurrences in order to justify an assembly room in the future visitor center. [165]

Norman Thomas was back as seasonal ranger. He also found "the pressures of routine and special activities" a hindrance to getting everything done and found it necessary to apologize for late submission of a publicity article to the Gallup Independent for their special ceremonial edition. [166] That the pressures were increasing is further evidenced by the receipt of a visitor complaint against Thomas toward the end of the season the first such complaint registered against him in 5 years of work as a seasonal ranger. [167]

Cooperation with the Bureau continued to be close. The construction of a power line to the headquarters area from the Bureau's power plant in Chinle was reported in June, with the Park Service being allowed to deduct the cost of quarters furnished the workers from their share of the expenses billed them by the Bureau. [168]

The soil and moisture program being carried out by the two agencies was also working satisfactorily. [169]

A major problem raised by the Mission 66 and new master planning proposals was the old issue of boundaries. The new utility area was mapped in the southwest quarter of Section 22, a location outside the boundary description agreed upon by the Bureau and Park Service in 1942. Henson went to the files in hopes of finding a solution to the problem. He found the correspondence that suggested "point of order legislation" to permit the expenditure of Park Service funds on roads outside the monument but could not determine whether the matter had been carried to completion or, if so, just what effect it might have. [170] No evidence that the legislation had been achieved could be found and it was suggested that the Washington office initiate such legislation when the new boundary status report had been received. A field study was also recommended to determine a satisfactory new boundary. [171] Henson, apparently still unsure of the legal requirements of a boundary change or the nature of point of order legislation, included the following in his report that was submitted shortly after receipt of Ratcliff's memorandum:

A master plan study made on the ground in September, 1957, determined that the most logical and suitable location for the headquarters development will require a boundary extension to include the SW1/4 Section 22, T5N, R10W, Navajo Meridian.

The boundary, outside of the above mentioned township, follows the rim of the canyon in all its meanderings. This results in a very long and tortuous boundary which is almost impossible to accurately locate and mark on the ground. It also results in narrow wedges of non-monument land between tributary canyons. These wedges effectively block logical and economical road alignments.

In order to determine a satisfactory boundary which can easily be defined and marked and which will include all land needed for the proper and necessary developments, a field study should be made. [172]

Thus Henson, poorly informed on trends among the Navajos and ignorant of the implications of his recommendations, was setting a course for his successor that would collide with developing tribal policy. Two rapidly growing organizations the Navajo tribe, seeking self-determination, and the National Park Service, under Mission 66 were gradually but inevitably approaching a confrontation.

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## CHAPTER 8: DEVELOPMENT AND NAVAJO TROUBLES, 1958-1962

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1. Berger to Dir., June 2, 1958, C de C, A2823.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Berger to Dir., July 3, 1958, ibid.
5. Smith to Reg. Chief of Interpretation, May 28, 1958, DFRC, NPS, C de C.
6. Berger to Dir., June-August, C de C, A2823.
7. Berger to Dir., July 3, 1958, ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Berger to Reg. Dir., June 11, 1958, C de C, L54.
10. Ibid.
11. Berger to Dir., Aug. 3, 1958, C de C, A2823.
12. Ibid.
13. Berger to Dir., Sept. 2, 1958, ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Berger to Reg. Forester., Aug. 13, 1958, DFRC, NPS, C de C, Y14.
16. Berger to Dir., Oct. 6, 1958, C de C, A2823.

17. Ibid.
18. Berger to Superv. Landscape Architect, Sept. 2, 1958, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D32.
19. Miller to Reg. Dir., Sept. 11, 1958, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A5427.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Berger to Reg. Chief of Interpretation, Sept. 21, 1958, DFRC, NPS, C de C, K1815.
25. Berger to Dir., Nov. 3, 1958, C de C, A2823.
26. Ibid.
27. CA, No. 1346.
28. George J. Johnston to Reg. Engineer, Nov. 26, 1958, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A5427.
29. Berger to Reg. Dir., Oct. 15, 1958, DFRC, NPS, C de C, L1417.
30. Berger to Dir., Oct. 30, 1958, C de C, D30.
31. Berger to Dir., Dec. 2, 1958, C de C, A2823; Berger to Dir., Jan. 3, 1959, ibid.
32. Berger to Dir., Dec. 2, 1958, ibid.
33. Miller to Berger, Nov. 3, 1958, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A3815.
34. Scoyen to Reg. Dir., n.d., ibid. Scoyen's concern was apparently aroused by a memorandum dated April 11, 1958, from Ben H. Thompson, chief of the Division of Recreation Resource Planning, to Edmund B. Rogers, special assistant to the Director, requesting historical data on Navajo relations because
35. An interesting assertion with regard to the original headquarters building appears in this report:

The first development at Canyon de Chelly was the construction of an administration-residential building which was completed during 1935. This building was constructed on the

site of a Navajo family hogan. Apparently the family moved without incident and have no adverse feeling regarding the National Park Service. In fact, they are particular friends of the Service.

Berger, Guillet, and White, "Review of the Relationship between the National Park Service and the Navajo Tribe," n.d., encl. in Bowen to Dir., n.d. but ca. Nov. 17, 1958, ibid.

36. Bowen to Dir., ca. Nov. 17, 1958, ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Berger to Dir., Jan. 3, 1959, C de C, A2823.

43. Ibid.

44. George G. Downes to Berger, Dec. 15, 1958, DFRC, NPS, C de C, K3823; Berger to Reg. Publ. Dir., Dec. 22, 1958, ibid.

45. Berger to Dir., Jan. 3, 1958, C de C, A2823.

46. Jones to Berger, Nov. 24, 1958, DFRC, NPS, C de C, C3823.

47. Berger to Reg. Dir., Dec. 2, 1958, ibid.

48. Berger to Nelson, Dec. 10, 1958, C de C, C38.

49. Invitation and Prospectus, Jan. 5, 1959, C de C.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Richard T. Montgomery to Reg. Dir., Jan. 14, 1959, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5039.
55. Miller to Berger, Feb. 4, 1959, ibid.
56. Harthon L. Bill to Berger, Feb. 9, 1959, ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Bill to Chief, Mar. 2, 1959, ibid.
59. Bill to Chief, Mar. 3, 1959, ibid.
60. Berger to Dir., Mar. 3, 1959, C de C, A2823.
61. Scoyen to Reg. Dir., Feb. 9, 1959, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A3815.
62. Miller to Dir., Feb. 19, 1950, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A3823.
63. Berger to Grazing Committee, Mar. 25, 1959, C de C, L1425.
64. Ibid.
65. "Relinquishment of Use Rights on Tribal Indian Lands Within Canyon de Chelly National Monument," n.d., enclosure, Bill to Dir.. Sept. 10, 1959, ibid.
66. Berger to Dir., Apr. 1, 1959, C de C, A2823.
67. Arizona Highways, April 1959.
68. Berger to Dir., May 4, 1959, C de C, A2823; Berger to Dir., June 1, 1959, ibid.
69. Rogers to Berger, May 19, 1959, C de C.
70. P. E. Smith to John Anderson, May 26, 1959, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D22; Lewis D. Farr to Berger, May 22, 1959, ibid.
71. Berger to Dir., July 2, 1959, C de C, A2823.
72. Berger to Dir., Aug. 10, 1959, ibid.
73. Acting Reg. Chief of Operations to Chief, July 16, 1959, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D22; Berger to Dir., Aug. 10, 1959, C de C, A2823.

74. Berger to Chief, Western Office for Design and Construction, June 30, 1959, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5039.
75. Donald L. Bressler to Berger, July 31, 1959, ibid.
76. Berger to Dir., June 5, 1959, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A26.
77. Berger to Dir., Aug. 10, 1959, C de C, A2823.
78. Radcliff to Reg. Chief, July 29, 1959, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A5423.
79. C. Ulf Runfors and Agnes Lagerstedts to Berger, Aug. 25, 1959, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A36.
80. Wade to Berger, Sept. 7, 1959, ibid.
81. Berger to Dir., Oct. 10, 1959, C de C, A2823.
82. Ibid.
83. Berger to Dir., Nov. 3, 1959, ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Bradley to Reg. Chief of Interpretation, Oct. 20, 1959, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A5427.
87. Berger to Dir., Dec. 2, 1959, C de C, A2823.
88. Ibid.
89. Berger to Dir., Jan. 10, 1960, ibid.
90. "Annual Wildlife Report For Canyon de Chelly National Monument, 1959," DFRC, NPS, C de C, N2623.
91. C de C files, Jan. 26, 1960.
92. Berger to Dir., Mar. 2, 1960, C de C, A2823.
93. Berger to Dir., Apr. 5, 1960, ibid.

94. Asst. Reg. Dir. to Dir., Mar. 7, 1960, DFRC, NPS, C de C, C2615.
95. C de C files, Mar. 8, 1960.
96. Berger to Reg. Chief, Mar. 14, 1960, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A88.
97. Berger to Dornan, Mar. 16, 1960, DFRC, NPS, C de C, L3423. Whether the terminology used here by Berger is indicative of his general attitudes toward Navajos is not entirely certain, but it definitely shows a lack of understanding of their religion.
98. Berger to Dir., May 2, 1960, C de C, A2823.
99. C de C files, Apr. 15, 1960.
100. Berger to Dir., June 2, 1960, C de C, A2823.
101. Acting Reg. Dir. to Berger, May 6, 1960, DFRC, NPS, C de C, C3823.
102. C de C files; See Appendix 3.
103. Allen to Berger, May 6, 1960, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D30.
104. Ibid.
105. Berger to Dir., July 8, 1960, C de C, A2823.
106. Dods to Conrad A. Wirth, Dir., NPS, June 29, 1960, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A3615.
107. Ibid.
108. Berger to Dods, July 18, 1960, ibid.
109. Berger to Dir., Oct. 5, 1960, C de C, A2823.
110. Ibid.
111. C de C files, Sept. 13, 1960.
112. Allen to Dir., Sept. 16, 1960, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A5427.
113. Ibid.

114. Ibid.

115. Miller to Reg. Dir., Sept. 26, 1960, ibid.

116. Ibid.

117. Berger to Dir., Nov. 2, 1960, C de C, A2823.

118. Victor H. Nash to Reg. Chief of Operations, Oct. 7, 1960, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A5427.

119. Ibid.

120. Ibid.

121. Miller to Berger, Dec. 2, 1960, DFRC, NPS, C de C, C3823.

122. Ibid.

123. Section 9 of Contract, C de C files, July 26, 1960.

124. Berger to Dir., Dec. 2, 1960, C de C, A2823.

125. Berger to Reg. Dir., Nov. 22, 1960, DFRC, NPS, C de C, W34; Berger to James E. Weinel, Dec. 1, 1960, ibid.

126. Erik K. Reed to Berger, Nov. 30, 1960, DFRC, NPS, C de C, N2623.

127. Berger to Dir., Jan. 2, 1961, C de C, A2823.

128. Berger to Reg. Dir., Dec. 6, 1960, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D30.

129. Berger to Reg. Dir., Dec. 18, 1960, ibid.

130. Berger to Dir., Feb. 2, 1961, C de C, A2823.

131. Ibid.

132. Berger to Reg. Chief of Operations, Jan. 26, 1961, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5027.

133. Berger to Dir., Feb. 2, 1961, C de C, A2823.

134. Berger to Dir., Apr. 3, 1961, ibid.

135. Berger to Dir., May 2, 1961, ibid.

136. Ibid.

137. Irving M. Terzich, Environmental Health Survey Canyon de Chelly National Monument, Apr. 17, 1961, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5031.

138. Ibid.

139. Berger to Dir., May 26, 1961, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A26.

140. Berger to Dir., July 3, 1961, C de C, A2823.

141. Donald Pierce to Berger, June 5, 1961, DFRC, NPS, C de C, Y22; Berger to Dir., July 3, 1961, C de C, A2823.

142. Berger to Dir., July 3, 1961, C de C, A2823.

143. Berger to Dir., July 1961, ibid.

144. Erik K. Reed to Chief, July 19, 1961, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D6215.

145. Berger to Dir., August 1961, C de C, A2823.

146. La Font to Senator Hayden, Aug. 31, 1961, DFRC, NPS, C de C, C3823.

147. CA, Sept. 26, 1961, No. 1327.

148. Steen to Reg. Chief, Sept. 29, 1961, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A5427.

149. National Park Service Programs and Schedule of National Park Service Programs, 1961, DFRC, NPS, C de C, K3015.

150. Ralph J. Tangney to Berger, Nov. 30, 1961, ibid.

151. Philip H. Wohlbrandt, Reg. Engineer, to Berger, Feb. 7, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5027.

152. Berger to Dir., Mar. 2, 1962, AFRC, NPS, C de C, A2823.

153. Erik K. Reed to Supts., Canyon de Chelly, Capulin Mountain, Tonto, and Walnut Canyon, Mar. 8, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D6215.

154. Berger to Reg. Dir., Mar. 21, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5039, XD46.
155. Berger to Reg. Dir., Apr. 1, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, N2623.
156. Berger to Reg. Dir., May 8, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5015.
157. Ibid.
158. Ibid.
159. Navajo Tribal Utility Authority electric service contract, June 6, 1962, ibid.
160. Berger to Dir., July 2, 1962, AFRC, NPS, C de C, A2823.
161. Philip E. Shero to Berger, July 2, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5015.
162. Berger to Reg. Dir., July 5, 1962, ibid.
163. George W. Miller to Berger, July 16, 1962, ibid.
164. Land Use Permit, C de C, July 13, 1962.
165. Philip E. Shero to Berger, Nov. 8, 1962, DFRC , NPS, C de C, D5015; Berger to Dir., Dec. 1, 1962, AFRC, NPS, C de C, A2823; Berger to Dir., Jan. 1, 1963, ibid.
166. Berger to Reg. Dir., Nov. 9, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D5015.
167. Berger to Branch of Soil and Moisture Conservation, Sept. 13, 1962, C de C, D54.
168. Berger to Reg. Dir., Sept. 26, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A40.
169. Ibid.
170. Ibid.
171. Herbert L. Keller to Subagency Supt., Sept. 14, 1962, ibid.
172. Ibid.
173. Ibid.
174. Ibid.

175. Reg. Dir. to 12 Supts., Dec. 14, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A6423.
176. Rainey to Berger, June 7, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A7631.
177. Berger to Exec. Sec., June 25, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, K3015.
178. Jack Slack to Berger, July 5, 1962, ibid.
179. Joseph H. Fraser to Berger, Dec. 17, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, K3019.
180. Berger to Yellowstone Park, Dec. 27, 1962, ibid.
181. Berger to Dir., Sept. 4, 1962, AFRC, NPS, C de C, A2823.
182. Berger to Dir., Aug. 2, 1962, ibid.
183. Berger to Dir., Nov. 1, 1962, ibid.
184. Press release, Canyon de Chelly National Monument, Aug. 22, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, K3415.
185. Ibid.
186. Berger to Chief, Sept. 4, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D6215; Chief to Berger, Sept. 7, 1962, ibid.
187. Berger to Asst. Dir., Dec. 10, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, D46.
188. Ibid.
189. Danson to De Harport, May 29, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A90.
190. De Harport to Berger, May 31, 1962, ibid.
191. Erik K. Reed to 10 Supts., June 7, 1962, ibid.
192. Ibid.
193. Reed to De Harport, June 26, 1962, ibid.
194. Bannister to Berger, June 15, 1962, ibid.
195. Berger to Bannister, June 14, 1962, ibid.

196. George W. Miller to Berger, July 18, 1962, ibid.

197. Ibid.

198. Berger to Asst. Reg. Dir., July 24, 1962, ibid.

199. Ibid.

200. De Harport to Berger, July 20, 1962, ibid.

201. De Harport to Berger, July 23, 1962, ibid.

202. De Harport to Berger, July 30, 1962, ibid.

203. Berger to Dir., Aug. 2, 1962, AFRC, NPS, C de C, A2823.

204. Reed to Archeologist Caywood, Aug. 3, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A90.

205. Schroeder to Miller, Oct. 2, 1962, ibid.

206. Steen to Miller, Dec. 3, 1962, ibid.

207. Thomas J. Williams to Miller, Dec. 5, 1962, ibid.

208. Telephone conversations with De Harport, Aug. 6, 1974, and with Arthur H. White, Edward B. Danson, and Sam Day III, Sept. 5, 1974.

209. Danson to De Harport, Aug. 3, 1962, DFRC, NPS, C de C, A90.

210. De Harport to Miller, Aug. 7, 1962, ibid.

211. Miller to De Harport, Aug. 9, 1962, ibid.

212. De Harport to Berger, Aug. 8, 1962, ibid. ; De Harport to Berger, Aug. 20, 1962, ibid.

213. Reed to De Harport, Sept. 6, 1962, ibid.

214. De Harport to Berger, Sept. 10, 1962, ibid.

215. De Harport to Berger, Oct. 15, 1962, ibid.

216. Ibid.

217. Berger to De Harport, Nov. 28, 1962, ibid.

218. De Harport to Berger, Dec. 2, 1962, ibid.

219. Guillet to Dir., Feb. 6, 1963, AFRC, NPS, C de C, A2823.

220. The causes of Berger's troubles with the Navajos are not readily apparent in the documentation. Participants in the events of that period have diverse views regarding the matter. According to one official then in the regional office, Berger was merely caught in the changes brought on by the growing Navajo nationalism of the time. At the other extreme are those who found themselves in opposition to his policies who assert that he had as little as possible to do with the Navajos, that he was afraid of them, and even that he disliked them. In particular he is said to have brought a gun to protect himself from the Indians, to have not ventured out from headquarters any more than absolutely necessary to the extent that after some months at the monument he still did not know where White House Ruins was, and to have handled the refusal of permission to drill a well in such a way as to cause strong ill feelings.

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## CHAPTER 8:

### DEVELOPMENT AND NAVAJO TROUBLES, 1958-1962 (continued)

Two Navajo-related problems were settled at de Chelly in January 1961. The first concerned unwanted or stray dogs. Because of the appearance of several dogs in the area, it was decided that such animals would be held for a period of 5 days at the pound, and if they were not claimed within that time, they would be put to sleep. This was a policy accepted by Berger, the Bureau, and the Navajos. [\[130\]](#)

The other problem concerned a Navajo ordinance that stated that all sanitary inspections of concession facilities within Park Service areas be done by the Navajo tribe. Since the Public Health Service conducted such inspections at de Chelly, the Navajos accepted their findings and did not conduct a separate examination. [\[131\]](#)

Berger also reported that Canyon de Chelly had procured three FM radios: one base station and two mobiles. The radios were "obtained free of charge from excess property." Berger hoped to install the system immediately. [\[132\]](#)

Canyon de Chelly received national recognition in an article in the February 24 issue of Life magazine. The article concerned vacation areas in the Southwest, and two pictures of Canyon de Chelly National Monument with brief descriptions were included. [\[133\]](#)

Preliminary plans for the building of a "10 Unit Motel type building" at the Thunderbird were sent to Washington and the regional director on March 17 for approval. La Font hoped that it would be in operation in time for the busy summer months. [\[134\]](#)

Special Easter sunrise services were held for the Chinle community at the White House Overlook on April 2. Over fifty people attended what Berger thought was "a very impressive" affair. [\[135\]](#)

Construction of the new comfort station was virtually complete. The staking of 23 camping units for the campground expansion was under way and several trees were marked for clearing purposes. [\[136\]](#)

An environmental health survey on de Chelly was conducted by Irving M. Terzich, National Park Service sanitary engineer, and his report contained valuable information on the facilities. Berger accompanied Terzich on his tour of the monument. Listed in this work were visitation figures from 1954 to 1961. They indicate an increase of 210 percent since 1954:

1954	8,400
1955	8,000
1956	11,900
1957	13,200
1958	15,800
1959	21,000
1960	20,500
1961	26,500 <a href="#">[137]</a>

Studies were conducted on the water supply and on sewage disposal. Several recommendations were made to improve the quality of the facilities. [\[138\]](#)

In 1961 Berger again reported the most significant events at de Chelly for the year:

1. Addition to the Navajo Reservation Road Network by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
2. Completion of Water and Sewer Systems and Electrical Distribution Systems.
3. Approval and Completion of Sale of Thunderbird Ranch and Trading Post on December 8, 1960.
4. Construction of Three Residences and filling of 2 additional positions as a result of housing facilities.
5. Construction of a Campground Comfort Station and expansion of the Campground by 23 sites. [\[139\]](#)

Interpretive services in the form of illustrated evening programs resumed on June 10. That month, 1,220 people attended the talks, which were presented seven nights a week. Aiding in the program was Seasonal Ranger Frank L. Plettenberg. The nightly programs were:

Sunday	Indian Burials
Monday	Hopi Kachinas
Tuesday	Prehistory of Canyon de Chelly
Wednesday	Southwestern National Monuments
Thursday	Navajo Weaving and Silver
Friday	Points of Interest near Canyon de Chelly
Saturday	Photographic Tour of Canyon de Chelly <a href="#">[140]</a>

Besides a somewhat favorable report on the decrease of "Ips" infestation, construction on the roads and camping spurs for the 23 additional camping sites was almost completed. [\[141\]](#) Drives, walks, and patios were also completed and paved for the three new residences. [\[142\]](#)

An unusual flash flood occurred at de Chelly on July 21 and caused undue misery. Two vehicles were completely covered by the oncoming water, but fortunately the occupants were able to get to high ground. The vehicles were later recovered: one was salvageable while the other was a complete loss. [\[143\]](#)

A wealth of knowledge about the proposed 15-exhibit plan for Canyon de Chelly was contained in a report submitted on July 19. The program was allotted \$30,000 for construction and installation of exhibits. Each display was detailed and the titles included: "The beginnings of Pueblo Life: about A.D. 1 to 450," "Cliff Dwellings: about A.D. 1200 to 1300," "The Long Walk," and "The Navajos Today." Artifacts, photographs, and other illustrative matter were to be contained in the cases. [144]

Visitation was very good during August, with 4,580 people counted. The Thunderbird Ranch had 720 overnight guests, and 437 people took jeep tours into the canyon. [145] La Font wrote Senator Carl Hayden at the end of the month describing the operation and inviting him to visit the "beautiful Canyon." More specifically, however, La Font wrote the Senator in regard to the electrical service prices. The electrical service was furnished by the Bureau at Chinle, and La Font believed the rate of 7¢ per kilowatt "exorbitant [sic] and works a real hardship. The power bill for the preceding 12 months at the Thunderbird was \$4,714.54. He hoped that the Senator would assist in trying to reduce the rate. [146]

Stabilization work was done by Roland Richert and Joel Shiner at Mummy Cave in September. Aiding them in their work were eight Navajo laborers. Their work included repair of breaks at the base and of the walls and ceiling. When they left, they said that another season was needed to finish up. [147]

A report on the major ruins at Canyon de Chelly was made by Regional Archeologist Charlie Steen at the end of September. He commented on the erosion and subsequent repairs needed at Mummy Cave, White House, and Antelope House. [148]

As the year ended, the Park Service presented a series of 15 programs that were filmed in National Park Service areas. These were shown on television stations throughout the United States and were included in the "What's New" series on the National Education Television Network. Included among the programs was "Navajo Life at Canyon de Chelly National Monument." [149] Berger received a letter from the director of special projects concerning the Canyon de Chelly program, which he felt was "one of the very finest in the series. . . ." [150]

Berger received authorization at the beginning of February 1962 to use frequency 32.02 MC/S for his two mobile units. The call signs assigned were KB7898 and KB7899, and Berger was asked to supply the license numbers of the vehicles that would be using these numbers. [151] Supervisory Ranger Homer A. Robinson began installing the radio equipment in the ranger vehicles, having already installed the base station at the administration building. [152]

In order to assure success in acquiring specimens for the proposed museum exhibits, Berger was advised to make a list of the items already at Canyon de Chelly. In addition, he was asked to

arrange a schedule for obtaining the necessary photographs, especially those of a seasonal nature, such as flower and plant pictures; and please submit to us, as soon as possible, a complete list of the items or photographs which may be difficult for you to obtain. This will make it possible for us to give you the maximum help without having to spend extra money

on crash programs or rush jobs. [153]

The Navajo Tribal Council adopted a set of regulations pertaining to trailer parking on the Navajo Reservation, which would be effective on December 21, 1961. Berger surmised that

the reason behind the Ordinance was the great number of Construction Camps with the resulting mess scattered about the reservation. They are also interested in the construction of Trailer Courts and are trying to include the National Park Service Campground at Canyon de Chelly under the Tribal Ordinance. The Tribal Sanitarian is trying to give us some static regarding our campground meeting the standards as stated in the Ordinance. The local Public Health Service Sanitary Engineer agrees with us regarding the Jurisdiction of the Navajo Tribe within the Monument boundaries however, the Tribal Sanitarian is inclined to be a bit officious. [154]

Navajos also reported the killing of sheep by black bears, although no one on the de Chelly staff had seen any. The Navajo Tribal Park Service and a Government trapper hunted unsuccessfully for the animals. Another incident involved an Indian killing a beaver, which was a violation of regulations. The tribal ranger prosecuted the case, and the Indian received a \$25 fine. [155]

Berger reported in May that the Navajo Tribal Utility Authority of Window Rock was going to furnish electricity to the Chinle Subagency. This was to be done by July 1 or sooner. Berger said that "at that time the Chinle Sub-agency generating plant will cease operations and Canyon de Chelly will be furnished electricity by NTUA." [156] In addition, the Utility Authority planned

to tie their lateral to the Canyon de Chelly power line at Garcia's store and in order to have uninterrupted power at the Monument, NTUA is asking for a Use Permit allowing NTUA to connect to the Canyon de Chelly Power distribution line, take over the Maintenance and Operation of the system and to bill the occupants of existing quarters, Offices etc. and the Thunderbird Ranch individually. [157]

The Utility Authority rate schedule for power at Chinle had not yet been approved by the Bureau, but Berger said that he had been "assured by NTUA officials that it will be considerable [sic] less than we are presently paying to the Bureau of Indian affairs, Chinle." The proposed rate was estimated at .04 per kilowatt-hour. [158] The contract was signed on June 6, 1962, and the minimum charge was \$3 per month per meter installation. [159] As a result, Berger observed that "electric power supply is greatly improved at the Monument." [160]

The Thunderbird requested that the Utility Authority install two streetlights as a preventive of vandalism and as a safety factor. [161] Berger conveyed this request to the regional director, and also included an appeal from Ray and Bessie Martin, Navajos, to connect their home to the power line at the Thunderbird Ranch. [162] Berger was informed that La Font could install the two lights and that "the alignment proposed for carrying power to the Ray and Bessie Martin quarters appears satisfactory." [163] A "Land Use Permit " was issued to the Martins for their hookup. [164]

The Utility Authority, after many petitions and requests from residents living near the Canyon del Muerto community, extended electrical service to that area. [165] It would supply a 14,440-volt transmission, which would cross the wash "between the Garcia Trading Post and the Presbyterian Mission," a distance of approximately 1,090 feet. Berger stated that

due to the length of the span, there will be two H structures, one on each bank which will be on the horizon looking West from the Park service proposed Visitor Center. From the H structure on the northeast bank of the wash, the transmission line will follow in a minor wash for about one half mile. From that point it will be on high ground and will be constructed on the North side of the Del Muerto road to the Del Muerto community. There will undoubtedly be laterals that will cross the road onto Monument lands to consumers along the route. [166]

After a flood in Canyon del Muerto destroyed an irrigation structure above Twin Trails, the Navajos requested that the structure be repaired. The cost was estimated at \$900, and local Navajos were to be employed as workers. [167]

On September 9, Philleo Nash, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, arrived in Chinle. He was to tour Canyon de Chelly and inspect the Chinle Boarding school, the Compound, and the Subagency area. He never got to de Chelly, because he was "hailed to the Chapter House by the local Chapter President." This meeting lasted until 5:10 P.M., and Nash was due at Gray Mountain, 200 miles away, at 7:30. [168]

At the meeting, the question of returning Canyon de Chelly to the Navajos was brought up. Nash responded with the following remarks:

1. Were the Navajoes [sic] able to take care of and operate an area of this kind? He understood that their Monument Valley Project had to have \$40,000 in addition to the revenue taken-in at the entrance station during 1961.
2. Since Canyon de Chelly was authorized by Congress and belonged to the people of the United States as well as the Navajo Indians, Congress would have to authorize its return to the Navajoes [sic].
3. The proposition must be agreeable to the Director of the National Park Service and the Secretary.

[169]

Berger concluded that "Commissioner Nash was friendly, patient, and cooperative during the entire day, but did not seem to be entirely in sympathy with the proceedings. The meeting was arranged by the Navajo Tribal Officials with the Bureau personnel as advisors and escorts." [170]

Nash requested information about Canyon de Chelly from Berger, "the Monument Concessions Contractor, and others with knowledge of the monument and the canyon." [171] His first question concerned the concessions contract at de Chelly and how it related to the Navajos. They were to receive 1-1/2 percent of the gross income and were to be employed "whenever possible." During the peak of 1962, 19 Navajos were employed out of a total of 27 employees. During September, 14 of the 21 employees were Navajos, of whom 3 worked at the trading post, 9 worked in the lodge and cafe, and 2 were drivers of the guided tours

into the canyon. It was further reported that the Park Service employed 6 Navajos out of a total force of 12 employees at the monument. [172]

Concerning the Navajo right to rent horses for canyon rides, figures showed that five Navajos rented horses to tourists during the 1962 season. Their maximum income from one day's rental of horses was approximately \$50. [173]

Finally, the last bit of information requested by Nash concerned domestic water development. There was no restriction on Navajos drilling wells for domestic water. However, the Park Service furnished about 75,000 gallons of free water monthly to Navajo families in the canyon area. [174]

On December 14, 1962, Meredith Guillet was assigned to Canyon de Chelly as assistant superintendent. His main duty was to handle Navajo affairs. The reasoning behind such an appointment was as follows:

The Secretary of the Interior and the Director are desirous of coordinating all mutual interests of the Navajo Tribe and the National Park Service. Meredith Guillet with his knowledge of and previous experience with the Navajos, his interest in those people and his reasonable ability to converse in their own language is a natural choice to handle such an assignment. [175]

A fire hazard inspection was held on June 7 by Supervisory Park Ranger Roy G. Rainey and Seasonal Ranger Larry Thomas. Most of the buildings were found to be satisfactory, but some had substandard wiring. [176]

Berger, in order to improve the slide collection at de Chelly, wrote to the Southwestern Monuments Association for new slides on various national parks and monuments in Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. They were to be used in the evening campfire programs. [177] In July Berger received 97 slides free of charge from the association, and five more were promised at a later date. [178]

Besides acquiring new slides, Berger received a request from Yellowstone National Park for slides on Canyon de Chelly. [179] Berger supplied two slides with a synopsis of each one. The first slide was of White House and was accompanied by information on its history. The other slide was a fall scene at Canyon de Chelly and emphasized the fall colors and the Navajos living in the canyon. [180]

Canyon de Chelly received recognition in an article entitled "After Six Centuries of Silence: Life Again In Mummy Cave." The article was written by Richard Dunlop and appeared in the August 1962 issue of Popular Mechanics. [181] Dunlop was sent by the magazine to join Archeologists Richert and Shiner and their Navajo crew, who were undertaking stabilization work at Mummy Cave. Besides providing excellent pictures of the work being done there, Dunlop presented information on Canyon de Chelly's history.

La Font opened his new 10-unit motel at the Thunderbird on July 15. Each of the new units contained two double beds. [182] Apparently the new operation was very successful, because La Font was planning to construct a 12-unit motel for the 1963 season. [183]

Canyon de Chelly was included in the NPS Billionth Visitor Day observance on August 22. The plan was to select simultaneously, at precisely 12:35 P.M., the billionth visitor to the 192 areas administered by the National Park Service. Berger explained

that while it was virtually impossible to determine exactly which visitor to the National Park System was actually the billionth, statistical data maintained by the Service permit us to draw a reasonably reliable conclusion that today the billionth visitor will actually enter one of the parks. [184]

The fortunate visitor was Perry White and his family from Bluewater, New Mexico. White was taken on a personally conducted tour of Canyon de Chelly, entertained at the Thunderbird Lodge, and presented a certificate "naming him as the one selected to represent CANYON DE CHELLY NATIONAL MONUMENT on this occasion" at a special evening program. [185]

A question arose over the exclusion of the Adahoonligii, the Navajo-language newspaper, from one of the planned museum exhibits entitled "The Navajos Today." Because it was no longer published, having been superceded by the English-language Navajo Times, and because it really did not tie in with the theme of the exhibit, it was eliminated from consideration. [186]

Berger submitted a report in December about picnicking at Canyon de Chelly. He viewed it as an "important activity due to the lack of eating establishments in the general area." [187] Picnickers consisted of whites and Navajos in family parties and organized groups. Berger stated that 75 percent of the picnickers were local and 25 percent were visitors. In addition, Berger said that there were special areas at the headquarter's campground (six tables and water) and near Spider Rock Overlook (six tables, fireplaces, and restrooms) for picnicking. There was no real policy regarding picnicking activities at de Chelly, although campers and picnickers were segregated. [188]

One of the major incidents, besides one of the most unfortunate, of 1962 was a dispute that arose between Superintendent Berger and David De Harport, who was working for the Navajo tribe at the time. It lasted for over 6 months, and a large amount of correspondence was exchanged between the parties involved.

De Harport received from Director Edward B. Danson of the Museum of Northern Arizona a permit to do work under their auspices at Canyon de Chelly. [189] He then wrote to Berger notifying him of the permit. [190]

The permit was "a non-exclusive departmental permit for calendar year 1962" for "archeological and paleontological research, excavation, and collecting on Interior Department lands in all of Mohave, Yavapai, Coconino, Navajo, and Apache Counties, Arizona and portions of San Juan, Kane, and Garfield Counties, Utah, along the Colorado River and the San Juan and southern tributaries." [191] However, before work could be started by one holding such a permit, advance approval from the superintendent of the area was required relative to:

1. The scope and manner of conducting such survey.
2. The sharing of scientific survey data, including duplicate paleontological material if desired. [192]

This was the crux of the dispute. Even though Berger received word that De Harport was working under such a permit, apparently De Harport did not in the beginning submit the required prerequisites for such work. Also, De Harport needed to have some type of titular appointment that connected him officially with the museum. [193]

Moreover, De Harport wrote Dr. Bryant Bannister at the University of Arizona requesting him to write Berger authorizing De Harport to do some dendrochronological work. [194] This was done. Berger's reply, however, stated that De Harport had to get a special collecting permit which he did not have. If he got such a permit, said Berger, he could do the work. "Any work that Deharport [sic] does in the Canyon," declared Berger, "other than as a regular Monument visitor, is without permission and is unauthorized." [195]

Berger apparently was under pressure to allow De Harport to do the work anyway. The assistant regional director wrote him and said he should allow De Harport to do his work because cooperation of the Park Service "with both the Navajo Tribe and the Museum of Northern Arizona is obviously essential." [196] He asked Berger to justify his "reluctance" in not letting De Harport do his field work and "if necessary" to include a "confidential memorandum outlining any background factors causing your opposition." [197]

Berger's reply was as follows:

We have hesitated to issue a collecting permit to Dr. David Deharport due to the fact that he will not or cannot present any documentation relating to his status with the Museum of Northern Arizona; second, his extremely careless attitude regarding the stipulations of the museums permit and; third; the fact that he appears to feel that the permit gives him complete authority to excavate and collect other than surface materials. [198]

Berger said that he had tried to cooperate with De Harport and would continue to do so. However, De Harport had not classified the scope and purpose of his work as required by the permit issued to him. [199]

In the meantime, De Harport apparently believed everything was all right and wrote Berger that he would be at Canyon de Chelly to begin work. [200] Berger, however, refused to allow him to commence activities, and De Harport later wrote Berger that he was sorry that he "left the impression of being hostile to the U.S. National Park Service," apparently the result of trouble between the two men over this incident. [201]

De Harport, towards the end of July, brought up the issue of illegal excavation activities by pothunters at de Chelly. [202] The only mention of this dispute in the superintendent's monthly reports appeared in July, when Berger wrote:

Considerable time has been spent with Dr. David Deharport, archeologist and Land Claims representative of the Navajo Tribe to prevent unauthorized collecting of artifacts from the Canyons. Dr. Deharport claims to be working for the Museum of Northern Arizona but can

produce no permit to show any connection with the Museum. [203]

Pursuant to this charge of illegal excavations, the regional chief advised an archeologist to go immediately to Canyon de Chelly and see if "unauthorized collecting or digging" was going on. [204] Reports later submitted, on the whole, discredited De Harport's charges.

Archeologist Albert H. Schroeder found one site that was "hit hard" by vandalism. [205] Other reports were less favorable to De Harport's claim. Regional Archeologist Charlie R. Steen stated that although De Harport reported vandalism at a half dozen sites, the damage was of a minor nature. De Harport's report of large-scale digging at Duck Rock Site was also disproved. Steen did admit there was frequent illicit digging at de Chelly, but doubted if any "large groups of pottery or other materials" were taken from the canyons. In concluding his report, Steen said "I am fairly confident, however, that no consistent or large scale pot hunting is going on within the Monument." [206] A similar report was submitted by the regional chief of ranger services who contended that "it was apparent to me that Mr. De Harport had 'an axe to grind' and at times was abusive in his contacts with Superintendent Berger." [207]

In defense of De Harport's accusations of pothunting, which may or may not have been part of a personal vendetta against Berger, there was pothunting going on, although perhaps not on the scale that he suggested. Personal inquiries by the authors indicate this to be true. [208]

Meanwhile, De Harport was still trying to get approval to conduct his work at de Chelly. Danson wrote him in August about his appointment as a research associate of the Museum of Northern Arizona. He also approved of his wish to photograph, draw plans, make sherd collections, and collect wood for Bannister. Danson hoped that De Harport would "inform Superintendent Berger of your presence on the Monument and tell him when you plan to work there and where you will be going." [209]

De Harport then wrote the assistant regional director. He stated the above information and presumed that Berger had been notified. He stated:

As has always been my custom during the past fifteen years which I have done field work in Canyon de Chelly National Monument the superintendent or other authorized personnel of the Monument, are notified when I enter the canyons, where I intend to work, and when I expect to be out. The area is entirely too dangerous to work alone without taking these simple precautions. [210]

The assistant regional director responded that he was pleased to hear of his appointment and work proposals. However, Miller stated that De Harport had to secure "the approval of the Superintendent, in advance, as to the scope of any work proposed within a National Park Service area, not merely notifying him as to when and where you propose to work." [211]

De Harport, however, did not heed this procedure and repeatedly wrote to Berger for permission. [212] Finally, the regional chief wrote De Harport, spelling out what he had to do and reiterating that a simple notification was not enough. De Harport was advised to write a prospectus "as to the scope and manner of

your field work," and to submit it beforehand to Berger. The regional chief was "baffled" as to why De Harport had not done this. [213]

De Harport saw the light and sent a detailed prospectus to Berger on September 10. He concluded that "it is offered to satisfy any administrative requirements for formal issuance of a permit to work in the area." [214]

By October 15 De Harport still had not received the "go ahead" from Berger. De Harport wrote Berger, stating that "I have complied with all legal requirements for the issuance of a permit" and wondering where the approval was. [215] He also stated that he had made several unsuccessful attempts to meet with Berger personally at Canyon de Chelly. He declared:

and I have waited and waited. Yet, I have not received one word from you about my permit. Surely, Mr. Berger, there can be no rational reason for this behavior on your part. May I hear from you by return mail? [216]

The approval was finally mailed by Berger on November 28. The permit expired at the end of December. Berger advised De Harport to report when he entered and left the canyons as a safety measure and also in order to "advise others of your work when they report seeing activity at any of the ruins." [217]

The hostile feelings did not subside. On December 2 De Harport declared to Berger that

Last July 21 you refused to issue this permit and in a notable abuse of your authority ordered certain surveylance [sic] of my activities in an apparent attempt to restrict my investigation of illegal digging in archaeological sites in the Monument. You [so] informed Mr. Justin La Font at that time. You will now inform him that you have issued a permit for my archaeological research in Canon de Chelly. [218]

Moreover, De Harport again wrote a report on illegal excavating at Canyon de Chelly and submitted it to the tribal lawyers. [219]

Thus, the De Harport-Berger controversy was apparently a clash of personalities and misunderstandings. The actions of both men caused considerable headaches for others indirectly involved. Who was to blame? Perhaps they both were guilty.

In sum, an overview of the Berger years at Canyon de Chelly reveals a growing alienation between the Park Service and the Navajos. Examples are indeed numerous: the meeting in Santa Fe of Berger, White, and Guillet to study Park Service/Navajo relations; the request made to Commissioner Nash by the Navajos to have Canyon de Chelly returned to them; and alleged vandalism and pothunting activities. Moreover, the Navajos were probably upset over encroachments on their sacred lands the ascents of Spider Rock and the possibilities of a road passing through their cemetery. One of their greatest fears was their potential loss of the entire area due to Park Service expansion during these years. A prime example of this was the Anson Bahe case. The situation was extremely critical and needed rectifying. [220]

These accusations must be viewed with some suspicion because they come from people who disliked him, but at the same time they were first hand observers. Comments by others who may have received part of their information second-hand, but who were close enough to be considered well-informed, allege that he did allow the bulldozing of the Navajo cemetery near headquarters and that the interpretive programs declined drastically in quality under his administration. None of these allegations can be documented in sources that the writers have examined, but it is apparent that Berger did fail to maintain good relations with the Navajos. Whether this was merely because he tried too zealously to perform his duties without regard for consequences, or because he lacked tolerance and understanding of a people different from himself, he was quite obviously the wrong man in the wrong place at the wrong time.

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## CHAPTER 9: THE RETURN OF GUILLET, 1963-1966

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## CHAPTER 9: THE RETURN OF GUILLET, 1963-1966 (continued)

Guillet participated in the regional director's staff review of the proposed master plan; revisions suggested were relatively minor, although some are significant in terms of the light they shed on local and tribal Navajo relations and may reasonably be assigned to Guillet's influence. A proposal that two campgrounds be established within the canyons for horseback visitors was deleted, allowing the superintendent administrative leeway to designate locations for such use as might be dictated by events within the area. A proposed exclusion of the concession from the monument area by boundary change was toned down. It was pointed out that the plan would have to be "thoroughly discussed with the Navajos" after approval in Washington and that this might impose further changes. [98]

Guillet remained wary of trying to accomplish too much too fast with the tribal administration at that time, hoping to build up good relations locally that would later have an effect on tribal policy. As he explained his view of the matter:

The failure of the National Park Service to adhere to assurances and commitments made to the Navajo Tribe before their consent was given for the establishment of this National Monument, has given self-seeking Navajo Politicians ample material and some justification for their attempt to return Canyon de Chelly to the Tribe. We are at present making what I believe is good headway in winning back the confidence of the local Navajos and re-establishing more friendly relations. Present overall economic development plans of the Tribe and the Bureau of Indian Affairs are working to our advantage in pointing out the value of a National rather than Tribal Park area to the local economy. The Federal Government footing the bill rather than the Tribe also has certain attraction. [99]

Tribal desires to construct a large motel within or adjacent to the monument made it necessary to work as closely as possible with tribal officials, however. [100] Approval of the master plan was received in due time and it then had to be presented to the tribe. [101] Continued cooperation with the Tribal Parks Commission on planning developments at Lake Powell provided one avenue of approach, particularly in view of the involvement of Vice-Chairman Nelson Damon, but continued political factionalism at Window Rock and the organization of responsibilities within the tribal offices led to a somewhat different approach. [102] A review of the master plan with tribal representatives was finally held on October 6 at Window Rock. Guillet was joined at the meeting by Park Planner David Jones, Assistant Superintendent John Cook, and Regional Chief of Master Plan Coordination Volney J. Westley. Attending on behalf of the tribe were Ned

Hatathli, director of the Resources Division, and certain members of his staff Edward O. Plummer of the Land Investigations Department, Willard Fraser of Agriculture and Livestock, Woody Isaac of Tribal Parks, and Freeman E. Taber, who was then on detached assignment to the tribe from the United States Fish and Wildlife Service.

After briefing the tribal officials on the plan, giving emphasis to the problems involved in protection and interpretation of the ruins, settlement of land use conflicts, and improvement of Navajo-tourist relations, a discussion followed, which Westley reported upon in some detail:

Questions asked by Messrs. Hatathli and Plummer are listed below with our replies shown in parentheses.

- 1) What are the specific objectives and guidelines in this plan that represent change in policy compared to previous plans? (Employment of Navajos and training them for higher level positions on the staff; closer cooperation between [sic] NPS to solve problems and achieve mutually desirable objectives in the monument; recognition that Canyon de Chelly is a historic site to Anglos, but a historic shrine to Navajos).
- 2) Do these policy changes apply only to Canyon de Chelly or will they apply to other NPS areas in the vicinity of the Navajo Reservation? (General policy will apply to other NPS areas).
- 3) Does the NPS intend to restrict the activities and mode of life of Navajos resident in the canyons? (NPS has no authority over Navajos resident in [the] canyons and their way of life, except with respect to protection of sites and furnishing of services to visitors. Tribe and NPS must face the problem and act together).
- 4) Is the NPS or the tribe in charge of the concession operation at Thunderbird Lodge? (NPS had administrative control over the concession operation. However, the tribe receives the franchise fees from its operation).
- 5) Will the NPS object to a tribal concession operation in the monument, such as at a rim overlook? (The NPS will not object to tribal concession operation on the rim but the Service must approve the location, size and type, and exercise administrative control over the concessioner).

The specific problem of controlling unauthorized access into the canyons from the Chuska Parkway was recognized and discussed, especially from Tsaile and Wheatfields Reservoirs. Mr. Hatathli believes that some arrangement can be made so that Tribal rangers can accomplish this for us. Mr. Taber . . . suggested it might be better for the NPS to construct and man these district stations and train Navajos to do the job. No specific conclusions were reached, and this is typical of the problems that will require joint study and action. Mr. Hatathli stated that a new head of the tribal parks department will be employed shortly and that this will be part of his job.

This is the best meeting with the Navajos I have attended. It was a businesslike one, perceptive questions were asked, and no conflict in attitudes was evident. Mr. Hatathli complimented the Service on the scope and quality of the plan and the imagination it reflects. . . . It was evident at this meeting that Superintendent Guillet is doing an excellent job, but that he needs to be kept better informed by other area superintendents of Navajo matters. The recent shooting of a horse at Chaco Canyon was criticized, a matter that Mr. Guillet learned of indirectly. [103]

Westley had little knowledge of tribal politics and probably failed to realize what Guillet doubtless understood all too well. At the meeting they were dealing with young, well-educated, and accomplishment-oriented Navajo administrators, who were holdovers from the previous administration. While their influence with the new chairman was limited, they could give the kind of tribal recognition and approval to the master plan that Washington required and that would improve tribal relations in many respects. On the other hand, future developments were largely beyond their control. Guillet, did, however, send copies of the master plan to Hatathli asking that he give it his endorsement. [104] Action on this was delayed at Window Rock and it is not certain whether Hatathli ever gave formal approval. [105] Guillet had occasion to restate his assessment of tribal affairs not long after and expressed his views of the best policy to pursue as follows:

The . . . "upset" election of Raymond Nakai as Chairman of The Tribal Council in March resulted in turmoil and dissension among Tribal leaders and the legal battle between Secretary Udall and Tribal Attorney Norman Littell has created a more difficult and challenging aspect to this assignment. It has been my policy and recommendation to proceed quietly with the winning of the confidence and respect of the Navajo People without great fanfare, striving to attain their support in matters of benefit to both the Service and the Tribe. It is my firm belief that we should keep any National Park Service proposals or matters that might prove controversial until such time as the Tribal political climate is more propitious for successful negotiations. [106]

In a broad-ranging memorandum on Indian policy written earlier in the year, Guillet had set forth his more general policies, which help place his recommendations in better perspective:

Each tribe or cultural group has its own distinct way of life including a code of behavior or ethics, if you will. An appreciation of these and an attitude of friendliness and respect as well as personal efforts to try and [sic] understand their way of thinking and use of logic will go a long way. Only personnel who have tolerance and a genuine liking and understanding of primitive peoples should be chosen to deal with them, or administer the areas in which they have retained rights.

He listed some specific policies that required special attention in Navajo relations and that he thought should apply when dealing with any tribal group:

1. That there be full documentation of, and strict adherence to all assurances, commitments, or agreements given to, or entered into with the Navajo Tribe.
2. That interpretive programs, facilities and other developments be made with the interest of local

inhabitants as well as visitors in mind. That whenever possible, force account projects be utilized to provide work and training for the Navajo People. . . .

3. That care we [sic] exercised in choosing supervisory and management personnel to administer the area. Only those with proven experience in dealing successfully with primitive or unacculturated people or possessing those characteristics which indicate tolerance and understanding should be chosen.
4. That liaison be maintained by the Regional as well as area officers with leaders of the Tribe so that difficult situations arising can be settled before they assume dangerous proportions.

One remark on conditions then current is also pertinent here:

It is my opinion that we are beginning to sell the National Park Service ideas and principles to the Navajo people and are gaining ground rapidly through assistance to, and cooperation with the Tribe and other agencies concerned with Navajo Affairs. The Navajo are an unpredictable people but if we regain and retain their liking and respect of our integrity, I do not believe that they would propose other than one change. . . . [[107](#)]

It is in relation to these ideals and policies that Guillet's, specific actions and decisions can best be comprehended and evaluated. In most matters his primary focus was upon local effects or upon gaining rapport at a "grass-roots" level throughout the tribe and avoiding involvement in the political conflicts at Window Rock, while carrying out official liaison with tribal officials. While relations on the tribal level may have been uncertain as a result of internal political factors, he was able to accomplish a good deal in programs limited to dealings within tribal administrative subdivisions. A more or less chronological narrative of events during 1964 will illustrate the day-to-day applications of his philosophy.

When a new radio system was to be installed for the area he was able to persuade the Navajo Tribal Utility Authority to submit a proposal for building a power extension to a repeater station and providing the power. [[108](#)] The Park Service did award the contract to the NTUA, which performed the work using an approach road bladed out by Maintenance Foreman David Gorman. [[109](#)] By August the new FM system was in use and was considered a success. [[110](#)]

While cooperation with the Bureau, a sister agency under the Department of Interior, was at least in theory more routine though not necessarily conducive to better relations with the Navajos, some joint programs seem to have had full local support and suffered criticism only when too little was done. A joint undertaking of this sort was the soil and moisture program. Erosion and flooding within the canyons were serious problems for the Navajo farmers and their interest in works to alleviate these threats ran high. Plantings used to stabilize stream banks during April and May consisted of 16,300 Russian olive, golden leaf willow, and cottonwood seedlings. An 80 percent survival rate was reported for these. [[111](#)] In July applications were processed for the building of more spider jetties in Canyon del Muerto, but these may not have been built until much later due to the heavy runoff during succeeding months that hampered travel within the canyons. [[112](#)]

Insect infestations, which attacked both the protective plantings and Navajo crops, were also handled under this program. The Bureau began spraying early in the spring or summer because of a particularly bad

onslaught that year. [113] On June 23-25 Regional Forester Melie H. Lampi inspected the area. He found extreme defoliation of cottonwoods and willows, especially in the vicinity of Antelope House where about 60 percent of the trees had been killed. He reported that the tribe had sprayed in this last area with a mixture of five insecticides, so that "there was not a living critter in that section of the grove!" The villain in the story was identified as the cottonwood leaf beetle, *Lina scripta* Fabr. Lampi found natural predators of the organism present in the canyons and felt that the serious damage was over for the season. However, he recommended that Guillet be prepared to control any future outbreaks by using spraying procedures approved by the Federal Pest Control Review Board. [114] The acting regional director relayed Lampi's recommendations to Guillet and advised a judicious attempt to encourage tribal observance of the rules governing the use of pesticides. [115] Guillet submitted the necessary request for clearance to spray when needed. His proposal contained much specific information on the nature of the problem and the necessary involvement of the Navajos on various levels:

For hundreds of years many Navajo people have made Canyon de Chelly their home. They have cared for and enlarged orchards which date to near Southwest pre-history. They also plant and harvest annual crops of corn, squash, etc. The same insects which are destroying the Cottonwood and Willow Trees can and are destroying the orchards and farm crops.

If we stand idly by while the insects destroy the trees our not too shiny image tarnishes that much more. However, worst of all, should the Navajo people succeed in talking their appropriate Government branch into taking action we have placed ourselves in a position of double jeopardy. They have every right to spray within the Canyons and are not subjected to pesticide controls, thus paving the way for dual criticism of the National Park Service.

He obviously felt that in order to maintain the proper controls over pesticide use, it was preferable that the Park Service initiate action and work within the regulations rather than allow the Bureau or the Navajos to do the work and use methods that perhaps would be ecologically detrimental. He was careful not to suggest that the Service take over unilaterally, however, and listed the procedures needed to accomplish his aims in a cooperative manner that did not exclude other interested parties. He first described the probable role of the Bureau in any spraying that the Park Service might do:

The branch of Land Operations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs which assists in the administration and management of Tribal Lands is automatically involved here. They will assist in logistical support and probably provide the special vehicles needed to transport the mist blower up the Canyons.

With regard to both the tribe and the chapter he stated:

The local chapter and appropriate branch of the Navajo Tribal Government will be advised and invited to participate. It is doubtful if they will go beyond the observing point and this is what we prefer for this project.

In contrast, he expected and hoped for a close working relationship with the Navajo farmers:

The individual Navajos who's [sic] land will be affected will be automatically and obviously involved. To encourage full cooperation these individuals will be fully informed, briefed on and to the extent possible hired to perform this project.

He ended with a warning that failure to take action in an emergency of this sort would be detrimental to local public relations. [116] The threat of the leaf beetle seems to have diminished on its own, but the administrative groundwork had been laid and procedures planned in the event it should return in the near future.

The cooperation of the Bureau and Park Service in the soil and moisture program was not only conducive to better public relations, but resulted in savings in money and manpower. Similarly, cooperation with the tribal police and park rangers resulted in more law enforcement at the monument and allowed the hiring of one less seasonal ranger. [117] Because the Navajos who resided in the canyons were subject to tribal law, much of the law enforcement was, of course, a matter of internal tribal concern and of little relevance to the Park Service. The administration of this aspect of law enforcement would have brought the Park Service into areas that were not really of any concern to it and that it was ill-prepared to handle. Monument personnel did have primary responsibility for controlling visitors, however, and undertook to meet this responsibility. Whenever weather conditions permitted, daily patrols were made of the canyons, and unauthorized visitors lacking permits or guides were escorted from the canyons regularly. [118]

The most effective cooperation with tribal police was displayed when more serious problems arose. On the 4th of July, a busload of tourists stranded at Three Turkey House, outside the monument, were rescued by Chief Ranger Wallace. When a visitor's car rolled over the edge of the cliff at the White House Overlook, Wallace and tribal police attended to the matter together. One of the major disasters of Chinle history occurred in July. A flood in the Nazlini Wash destroyed the bridge connecting Chinle with the Ganado highway, leaving the dirt roads over the Defiance Plateau as the only access to or from the monument. One car with seven Navajo occupants was lost. National Park rangers assisted in the emergency along with tribal police and Bureau personnel, taking part in search and rescue and traffic control, helping find the bodies of those killed, preventing further loss, and guiding the stranded tourists to Sawmill over the back roads. Park Service maintenance workers and heavy equipment assisted in the building of a temporary crossing of the wash as soon as the flood waters subsided. [119] Subsequent floods in the same wash took out the temporary crossing twice in August, resulting in two more caravans of stranded tourists being escorted to Sawmill. [120]

Vandalism by local teenagers in the headquarters area was investigated in September. [121] Wallace and the Navajo police worked together on the case and it was learned that, at least in one instance, the culprit was the son of a Government building inspector at Many Farms, where a school was under construction. The father promised to discipline his boy and no charges were filed. [122]

In a general report on Navajo affairs submitted in November Guillet was able to note additional areas of cooperation with the Navajo parks, including assistance in protecting land adjacent to Park Service holdings, offering training for tribal rangers at the Horace Albright Training Center, and participation by Park Service personnel in tribal ranger training sessions. [123] On the last day of the month a small fire outside the

monument near Spider Rock was extinguished by Park Service workers before it could spread. [124] In December a second vehicle rolled over a cliff, this time at the sand dunes outside the monument boundary, and the Park Service participated in the accident investigation. [125]

The effect of Park Service programs on local affairs remained major concern. In April the principal of the Del Muerto School wrote requesting Service assistance in keeping the road open across the Canyon de Chelly Wash. Guillet noted that

no one is more appreciative of the problem than we are as we have pulled 117 cars out during the last month at all times of day and night. However, the real spring runoff has not yet begun. . . . Any lasting work will have to be accomplished when the wash is not running. . . .

As soon as the new Tsaile Lake and Wheatfields Lake reach their required storage capacity, in the next week or two, all of the normal runoff will be released and the wash will be running bank to bank covering or taking out any stopgap measures we might make now.

The National Park Service has tentatively scheduled the construction of a bridge for 1966, but of course this depends upon whether Congress gives us the money. When this bridge is constructed, the need for the Del Muerto School will no longer exist as school busses could then bring the children to Chinle.

As to the present situation, we are willing to assist other agencies with our equipment, but just do not have any roads and trails funds for the buying of materials or hiring of men. [126]

While fighting to retain approval of the bridge project, Guillet found that the only way to save the Park Service's reputation in local eyes was to rescue all vehicles stuck at the crossing. When pleading his cause for early construction of the bridge, he sent pictures of a stuck tribal vehicle. [127] The extraordinary number of stranded vehicles imposed a real burden on the staff, and Guillet found it necessary to issue guidelines in hopes of avoiding any tort claims: (1) no assistance was to be given to intoxicated drivers; (2) Government equipment was not to be used outside of the monument boundaries except with special approval of the superintendent; (3) in cases where the Park Service had no "moral obligation," assistance would be obtained from a Chinle garage; (4) a form releasing the Government from any claim due to damage or injury should be signed by the owner of any vehicle towed by a Government vehicle; (5) regular procedures might be by-passed in cases where failure to render assistance might endanger "life or limb"; (6) no payment or tip could be accepted for assistance given with Government equipment; (7) tribal police and rangers should be given all assistance needed when their duties required them to enter the canyons; and (8) aid to Navajo residents in cases of sickness and distress imposed moral obligations under which certain regulations could be ignored. [128] Assistance to Navajos in such emergencies was considered routine, [129] and the rescue of vehicles stuck in quicksand and dry sand was a regular duty. [130] In October it was possible to rebuild the crossing near the visitor center by using culverts and constructing protective jetties. [131]

Personal relations with local Navajos resulted in assistance that, at times, was far from emergency in nature

but that was necessary for good rapport with monument residents, many of whom were people with a strong traditional orientation and little understanding of the difference between "official" and private acts. Guillet's description late in the year illustrates the wide range of situations encountered:

The staff at this area and I am sure that at Navajo National Monument and Chaco Canyon there are almost daily contacts with members of the Navajo Tribe. Contacts much like the following:

Here we assist them in a great many ways. From the neighborly act of feeding Grandma Benally's goat and chickens when she is away, helping sick people get care at the PHS Clinic, to rescuing goats and sheep that have become 'rim rocked' in the canyon. Instances of this type are too numerous to mention but they are aimed at establishing good 'grass roots' relationships with the individual Navajos who make up the community and establish a better understanding of the policies and aims of the National Park Service. [132]

While most such services were not detailed in the monthly reports, an occasional more dramatic episode might be briefly mentioned, as when the chief ranger "beat the stork by only minutes" in November. [133] More emphasis was given to these incidents late in the year, and in December the successful treatment of a presumably dead Navajo girl with artificial respiration, an unsuccessful attempt to bring a sick woman over a steep ice-covered trail, and the rescue of eight goats from a ledge were noted. [134]

An annual event that was carried out at the tribal level, but that was aimed at personal contact with individual Navajos as much as at the promotion of relations with tribal officialdom, was the Park Service exhibit at the tribal fair each fall in Window Rock. A new slide presentation was prepared for this in 1964 with a taped talk in both Navajo and English. [135] The Navajo text was translated by Clarence Gorman with assistance from some of his family and required a great deal of work, but was exceptionally effective. The slide show was given in the library of the tribal museum, there being 40 presentations a day and very good attendance. Many in the audiences sat through more than one showing and members of the tribal council were especially interested. Postcards and souvenirs were passed out, with each one given to a Navajo having an olivella shell, used in certain Navajo ceremonies, stapled to it. Particular emphasis was given to stating the value of National Park Service programs to the reservation economy, especially in regard to the jobs they provided for Navajos. [136]

The employment of Navajos had been one of Guillet's major concerns and the impression that this aspect of his program made at the tribal fair was undoubtedly very encouraging. That summer he had 18 Navajos on the payroll at de Chelly. While there was still only one permanent position filled by a Navajo, it was as head maintenance man. In August the range of titles was indicative of the varied roles Navajos were now able to fill, including Park Ranger (General), Park Ranger (Archeologist), Clerk-Typist, and Operator General and Laborer. [137] Later the position of Truck Driver was added to the list. [138]

Contribution to the local economy was not restricted to employment. Guillet found that he could contract some work to Navajos also. Damage to ruins by livestock had long been a problem, resulting in fencing work by the Ruins Stabilization Unit and regular maintenance crews, but the fencing of Big Cave Ruin was done under contract by Johnson Hunter and Thomas Bia in November. [139]

Earlier in the year Robert Draper, a young Navajo artist, was commissioned to do a series of drawings for use in metal photo exhibits. These were obtained through a purchase order, [140] and thus technically were not obtained by letting a contract, but the procedure may well have led to the later innovation.

Another project that would involve Navajos was planned for the spring. This was to be a study of Navajo history and culture. The historical research was to be done by Robert Utley and Albert H. Schroeder of the regional office, but Sallie Van Valkenburgh was to begin in August on a study of the legends, place-names, and traditional history of the canyons. [141] For unexplained reasons she did not arrive until October 5, when, evidently accepted by the Navajos, she immediately began work. [142] She taped her interviews, working in the main canyon with Clarence Gorman as her assistant. [143] It was, perhaps, the ideal time of the year, because many of the mythological episodes that she wanted may not properly be told in the summer. Guillet's hope of organizing an interpretive program that gave adequate recognition to the Navajos seemed well under way. Van Valkenburgh completed the first phase of her project in November, having collected several tapes, translations, and photographs. She was to return in the spring to continue the work. [144]

The four-way relationship between the Service, the concessioner, the tribe, and the Bureau continued to produce complex problems. These became so bothersome that in the new master plan it was even proposed that the monument boundary be adjusted to exclude the Thunderbird Ranch from the area. [145] Guillet believed that his efforts had had such success that this was the only change the tribe would propose for Canyon de Chelly at this time. He felt that all concession fees should properly go to the tribe, and perhaps thought that this action would settle any question in the matter and perhaps end the controversy over whether the tribe had the right to construct its own motel at the canyon mouth. [146] La Font feared this competition, and a field solicitor's opinion was requested. [147]

The water supply for the Thunderbird was still in question. La Font had not given up his desire to have his own well, and Guillet had had second thoughts in this regard, fearing that the heavy demand at Thunderbird during the peak travel season would leave the monument without adequate pressure for fire fighting. [148] A visit by Marlow Glenn, regional chief of concessions management, resulted in a discussion that seemed to convince La Font that he would not be able to effect any savings by having his own well.

Glenn's inspection covered many problems such as the use of approved prices, fire safety, and the like, but his report was primarily concerned with the quality of the Thunderbird's bookkeeping. An audit had noted many "deviations from normal bookkeeping practices." The heart of the matter appeared to be the low price paid the accounting firm in Gallup that kept La Font's books. Glenn was able to convince both the head of the firm and La Font that increased service for increased pay was expected. [149]

A detailed inspection of the concession buildings for fire hazards was made by Chief Ranger Wallace in June. He found many deficiencies in wiring, fire extinguishers, and employee training. Indicative of the status of Park Service-concessioner relations at that time was his concluding complaint that he was unable to make as detailed an inspection as he wanted because of the concessioner's lack of cooperation. [150]

In July a solicitor's opinion was rendered on two questions that had been raised regarding the concession and the tribe. These merit quotation in some detail.

The first question was whether the Service had any authority over the proposed tribal motel if built within monument boundaries. The answer was as follows:

As to the first issue presented it is our view that unless and until the National Park Service specifically authorizes the establishment of motel service within the monument boundaries no one is authorized to establish and operate such a service. . . .

The act of February 14, 1931, 46 Stat. 1161, as amended, 16 USC S455, established the monument and governs the rights of the Service and the Tribe. Section 2 declares that nothing contained in the act is to be construed to impair the Tribe's right, title and interest ". . . to all lands and minerals, including oil and gas and the surface use of such lands for agriculture, grazing and other purposes except as hereinafter defined. . . ." Section 3 then provides: . . . That the National Park Service, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, is hereby charged with the administration of the area of said National Monument . . . and also the right to provide facilities of any nature whatsoever required for the care and accommodation of visitors to the monument.

Consequently, until the Service exercises [sic] its right, specifically with respect to motel operations within the monument, no motel could be established or operated by anyone including the Tribe. The terms of the concession contract seem to be in accord with this view.

The contract itself is silent as to the operation of motel service within the monument boundaries. Subsection 2(a) of the contract makes provision for the concessioner to furnish ". . . guest ranch accommodations [sic]." Subsection 2(c) declares that:

the tribe shall not establish, without prior approval of the Secretary, any guest ranch accommodations within five miles of the boundary of said monument, provided, however, that a motel and restaurant for services to transients shall not be considered as guest ranch accommodations.

The effect of these provisions is seemingly to protect the concessioner's guest ranch from competition by another guest ranch, established by the Tribe anywhere within five miles of the monument boundary. A motel could be constructed by the Tribe closer than five miles from the monument boundary; it could be constructed and operated next to the boundary. However, neither a motel nor a guest ranch could be constructed or operated by the Tribe within the monument if it is not authorized by the Service, in view of the delegation of authority to the Service under Section 3 of the 1931 act to make provision for visitor accommodations.

The second question, in view of a later reversal of policy (see Chapter 10) and its effects on tribal relations, is also significant. This concerned whether the Service had the right to reconsider the franchise fee at the end

of the fifteenth year of the concession contract. The solicitor stated that:

it is our view that this question is governed by the contract provisions to which all of the parties have agreed. Section 9 of the contract deals entirely with the concession fee. Subsection 9(a) requires that the concessioner pay the fee to the Indian Tribe; a basis for determining the amount of the fee and a time of payment are also stated. Subsection 9(c) asserts that "within 60 days after the end of the 5th, 10th, and 15th years of the contract, either party hereto may request a reconsideration of the amount and character of the fee provision provided for in subsection (a) of this section." (underscoring added). The term "either party" as used in subsection 9(c) seems to mean one or the other of the two parties directly concerned with the franchise fee. If all three parties had been intended to be included the words "any party" would probably have been used. In addition, section 9 with its subsections should be read together and subsection 9(c) refers to subsection 9(a) which concerns only the concessioner and the Indian Tribe. Therefore, in our view only the Tribe or the concessioner could request a reconsideration of the amount and character of the concession fee at the end of the fifteenth year of December 31, 1968. [151]

The fee policy had broad implications, applying to other areas besides the concessions. In November Guillet, in recommending that no fees be collected for use of the campgrounds and picnic areas, stated:

Two immediate problems . . . arise:

One is the question of "Who would get the fee?" Since title to the land rests with the Navajo Tribe it is assumed that they would feel that any user fees collected would be rightfully theirs. Inasmuch as the concession franchise fee goes to the Tribe we assume other NPS collected fees would follow this pattern.

The other problem and the one to cause the are[a] the most headache is "Who to charge?" A large number of our campers and/or picnickers are Navajo Indians, both local and visitors from some distance. If we charge or attempt to charge them, we will create a public relation problem of severe proportions. If we do not charge them but do other visitors, we are accused of discrimination and unequal treatment. [152]

The status of concessioner payments to the tribe is a bit confused, however. The major payment was 1-1/2 percent of the gross receipts for both the guest ranch and the trading post. In 1964 this amounted to \$5,455.79. The franchise fee as such was only \$300 and was kept on deposit as a guarantee of operation, although deposited in the name of the tribe. [153] The fact that a major portion of the business generated by the Park Service presence at Canyon de Chelly profited a non-Navajo businessman was to be an obstacle to good relations on both the tribal and local levels for many years to come. It must also have severely complicated the administration of concessioner management, contributing to the touchy relations often hinted at in accounts such as the safety inspection report noted earlier and the rate negotiations discussion mentioned below.

In July the rate schedule for the Thunderbird Ranch was submitted. Aside from relatively minor changes in

prices and the use of a new system of "a la carte" listing, there was little difference, except that no rate control was included for the trading post, this part of the operation henceforth being entirely regulated by the Bureau and the tribe. The curio store, however, did remain under Park Service regulation. Again, there was mention of the lack of full cooperation on the part of the concessioner when devising the new schedule. [154]

Despite Guillet's efforts to train the guides who operated in the canyons, there was a complaint that summer that La Font's drivers on the jeep tours, having "extremely limited educations," were poorly informed on the history of the area; college students, it was suggested, would make better guides. [155]. The drivers were not identified and it is uncertain what follow-up resulted at Canyon de Chelly.

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## CHAPTER 10: SONIC BOOMS AND PEOPLE PROBLEMS, 1966-1974

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51. Binnewies to Gen. Supt., Mar. 21, 1973, C de C, L54.
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56. "Memorandum of Agreement," signed by Charles B. Voll and Gereald La Font, July 28, 1969, ibid.
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62. Voll, personal communication, June 14, 1974.

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## CHAPTER 11: CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

1. Denis Foster Johnston, An Analysis of Sources of Information on the Population of The Navaho, BAE Bulletin 197 (Washington: GPO, 1966), p. 49.
2. Curator to Gen. Supt., July 15, 1974, Chaco Center, H30.
3. David M. Brugge, "Indian Control of Educational and Medical Institutions in Navajo Country," paper read at the Western History Association Conference, Rapid City, South Dakota, Oct. 3, 1974.
4. Robert B. Edgerton, "Some Dimensions of Disillusionment in Culture Contact," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 21, no. 3, pp. 231-43. Edgerton, basing his theses on observations among the Menomini in North America and among four tribes in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika in East Africa, holds a very pessimistic view of the durability of "European-Native" friendships. While much of what he writes is quite true, the implication that such relationships are impossible does not fit all Navajo-white relationships and may have been unintended on his part. He contrasts two extreme types of relationships, one in which both parties adhere rigidly to socially sanctioned roles based on the political subordination of the native group and one that he calls "pseudo-friendship," in which the "European" makes condescendingly energetic efforts to befriend the "native," motivated by intense idealism but with neither party having a very realistic view of the cultural demands of such a relationship in terms of the other culture. Intermediate degrees of friendship that allow for greater flexibility and that build on creative modifications of socially defined roles rather than on either strict conformance or total rejection seem to be those that have the best prospects of success, at least between whites and Navajos at the present time (1974).

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## CHAPTER 4:

### EARLY DEVELOPMENT, 1931-1941 (continued)

#### Interpretation Programs and Services

Although there was no official stationed on a permanent basis at Canyon de Chelly to handle them, there were approximately 423 visitors in 1931 and 395 in 1932. [176] In 1933, 435 visitors were recorded. [177]

After Budlong, the first custodian, arrived in August 1934, reports concerning interpretive contacts were submitted on a regular basis. Budlong reported 102 visitors in September and included the following specifics: 71 went into the canyon by car; 3 went by horse; and 28 drove along the rim, 18 of whom went down the trail to White House Ruin. During the 1934 travel year there were 650 visitors at Canyon de Chelly. [178]

For safety reasons, it was recommended that cars should have oversized tires when venturing up the canyon. The concessioner's car had 8-inch airwheels. [179] The arrival in July 1935 of James Douglas Harritt, the first temporary ranger assigned to Canyon de Chelly, reduced the burden of visitor contact for Budlong. [180] During the travel year of 1935 (travel years ended in September each year), 988 visitors were counted. [181]

Apparently some complaints were lodged against the "regimentation" of visitors at de Chelly. Pinkley took issue with this complaint, stating that such regulation was needed and Budlong was doing a good job of handling visitors. "All we ask of visitors," declared Pinkley, "is that they allow us to regiment them to the point where we know we have as much property when they leave as when they came." Evidently "regimentation" was needed not only to protect the ruins but also to guard against vandalism. [182]

Another complaint made to Ranger Harritt concerned horses rented from the Thunderbird Ranch and the guide, William McNatt, who also served as a clerk at the trading post. It appeared that McNatt did not keep the group together, and two members of the party became lost in the canyon. With a storm threatening, these lost souls feared that "a flood" of water might come rushing down upon them, but they were rescued before meeting such a fate. [183]

Ideas for a museum at Canyon de Chelly were discussed at the 1931 meeting in Santa Fe, New Mexico. In fact, objective number two suggested a museum consisting of relics taken from the ruins plus other material depicting the various stages of aboriginal life. [184] Later on, in 1934, Collier suggested that in accordance

with his policy of excluding commercialization, retaining a primitive state at Canyon de Chelly, and limiting "civilization" to a minimum, the only museum display should be a native hogan. [185]

In 1935 Budlong expressed his ideas on the establishment of a museum at de Chelly. It was, to say the least, a grandiose scheme. The museum was to be housed in the headquarters, and would contain a large model of Canyon de Chelly and a slide projector showing picturesque scenes. Also, he wanted the walls decorated with photographs of the major ruins and of the Navajos. Charts were to be made depicting geological formations. [186]

Furthermore, Budlong hoped to have several rooms exclusively devoted to geology, archaeology, and anthropology or ethnology, and another room could be devoted to flora and fauna. In each room he suggested installing "a device consisting of a central supporting column with provision made for its rotation." Attached to this column would be hinged glass frames about 3 by 5 feet. The overall effect would be "like pages of a book, if one considers the thing as a book with no covers, the thing opened out to form a circle." The frames would contain photographs on both sides and "with such a device in each exhibit room, details of the various 'ologies' could be gone into at great length." [187]

On December 30, 1935, a New Year's Eve party was given by the Canyon de Chelly Chapter of Navajos at the White House Trail. Custodian Budlong attended and was impressed by the 350 Navajos in costume. [188]

The rules and regulations for Canyon de Chelly National Monument consisted of thirteen items that emphasized the uniqueness of de Chelly among Park Service areas. Visitors were cautioned to respect the Navajos who were living in the canyon, and the rules clearly indicated that the Navajos were not on "display." The thirteen provisions were as follows:

1. Camping within canyons is prohibited.

The canyons are the home of some 350 Indians who naturally do not want to be disturbed at all hours of the day and night by parties of visitors.

2. Visitors wishing to descend the White House Trail must be accompanied.

This is for the protection of the visitors as well as the Indians. The Indians do not want to be bothered by visitors entering their homes at all hours and experience proves the visitor is not always courteous and sometimes gets himself into trouble if unattended.

3. Visitors who wish to ride horseback within the canyons must be accompanied.

The same reasons given under rule two obtain here.

4. Hiking within canyons is prohibited.

Due to the long distances and the treacherous sand it is not feasible; we have not the personnel to accompany parties; unattended parties might get into trouble.

5. Due to their extreme instability, all ruins are, for the present, closed to the public, except such as may be decided upon by the Custodian.

This rule is for the safety of the visitor.

6. When the canyons are in shape to permit general car travel, visitors are taken in caravan.

This is for the safety of visitors who would otherwise get stuck in quicksands or cause trouble with the Indians by unmeaning discourtesy. There are two trips per day: one at nine a.m., returning by eleven-thirty; the other at two p.m., returning by four-thirty.

7. Visitors may not remove any potsherds, or any artifacts of any sort, or do any excavating.

This is the law. Climbing of or on walls of ruins is prohibited. It is needlessly endangering life and property.

8. Any prehistoric material (artifacts) bought or otherwise acquired from the Indians within the canyons, or from Indians or white persons or any persons, within the boundaries of this monument, shall be confiscated by the custodian or ranger.

All such material is U.S. Government property and carrying it away is theft.

9. White House Trail is the only trail which may be used by visitors; but the custodian may make exceptions to this rule when, in his judgment it is wise and proper to do so.

This regulation will forestall trouble caused by unattended visitors interfering with the Indians or getting into trouble on dangerous trails.

10. Visitors may not enter Navajo hogans, or take photographs of any Indians within the boundaries of this National Monument, except where such permission is granted by the custodian, and he shall first obtain permission of the Indian or Indians in question.

11. Persons desiring to camp within the boundaries of this National Monument must be allotted a camping site by the custodian.

This will forestall unintentional interference with the rights of the Indians.

12. Visitors desiring to drive their own cars within canyons, must go in caravan, and such caravan shall be led by a car containing a ranger, or a custodian, or the custodian's representative. VISITORS TAXING THEIR CARS WITHIN THE CANYONS DO SO AT THEIR OWN RISK, AND THE

## GOVERNMENT IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR DAMAGE TO, OR LOSS OF, SUCH CARS.

13. Visitors arriving after the departure of one caravan must wait until time for the next caravan and join it.

This is for, the safety of the visitor and to prevent interference with the normal life of the Indians. [189]

In June 1936, 209 visitors came to Canyon de Chelly, the largest number ever recorded in one month since Budlong's arrival. Among the trips were 5 to White House Ruin, 21 to the South Rim, 19 car trips into the canyon and 2 horseback trips. [190] The month of September, however, topped this number, with 217 people recorded. Among the visitors was Senator Carl Hayden. [191]

To accommodate this influx of visitors, Budlong suggested that two-way radio communication be installed at the headquarters (custodian's residence) and in the Government pickup truck. He wanted both a transmitter and receiver in each. [192] These devices would enable the custodian and the ranger to communicate instantly with each other if certain problems or emergencies arose. He also suggested that an hourly call be established. In closing Budlong stated that

I consider such two-way radio communication absolutely necessary at this National Monument in the interests of better service to the public, and in the interests of preservation of valuable archaeological material. It is not a far-fetched idea in any sense. [193]

Pinkley, who received this request, wrote Kittredge, chief engineer, "concerning the practicability of radio communication as outlined by Mr. Budlong and a rough estimate of the cost for installation and the probable cost of maintenance and operation." [194] Kittredge replied that the cost of the car radio would be \$750. Maintenance would be about \$20 a year for tubes under ordinary conditions and an additional \$20 would be needed for an overhaul once every 6 months under normal circumstances. [195]

The headquarters set, with its own power plant, would cost \$1,250. Kittredge did not state whether such a setup was necessary at de Chelly, although he said it was a practical plan used "all over the State of Washington for the past two years." [196] Assistant Chief Engineer A. W. Burney stated that "unless you have a considerable sum to expend for radio communication in Canyon de Chelly two-way radio communication will not be possible." [197]

Pinkley answered Budlong's request for a two-way radio set in the negative. He stated that since the cost would be \$2,000, "the installation is out of the question." [198] Pinkley did say that he would bear the idea in mind "for inclusion in any new programs which might come up." [199]

After Budlong's departure on November 30, 1936, the new custodian, Johnwill Faris, took over. He recorded that 337 visitors came to de Chelly in August 1937. Aiding him in the interpretative work were Harritt and Alfred Peterson, another temporary ranger. [200] In October the Navajos held a fire dance on the rim, and

Faris reported that from 1,500 to 2,000 whites and Indians were in attendance. [201]

During the 1938 season, 1,573 visitors were counted. [202] Aiding in interpretation programs were temporary Rangers Bill Lippincott, Woody Spires, and Ted Cronyn. The best month for visitors was August, when 362 people came to view the canyon. On November 14 Faris left Canyon de Chelly and went to White Sands. Replacing him as custodian was Ted Cronyn. [203]

A guard wall was constructed by the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Service at the first lookout on the south rim of Canyon de Chelly in 1939. [204] Cronyn reported that he loaned his "sources of information" on Canyon de Chelly to a teacher at the Indian School in Chinle for classroom use, and also gave a talk on the Park Service to 40 Navajos at the Civilian Conservation Corps camp. [205]

Apparently there still was not a museum at de Chelly because Cronyn declared that "we are going, to need a museum here pretty soon; almost a dozen artifacts from the canyons have been collected." [206] Other accessions were donated by Dr. Seidelman, a Navajo Service doctor, and by Dr. Noble. Seidelman donated photographs of Navajos and Mummy Cave, while Noble donated views of the canyons and "other things." [207] Cronyn also reported that a Navajo brought in an old rope, feather blanket material, and a unique sandal. Another Navajo brought in two stone hammers. [208] Also ready to be placed in a future museum display were several small artifacts, hair and yucca braids, and yucca quids. [209]

Visitation continued to mount: 384 people in June, 358 in July, 364 in August, and 292 in September. Aiding Cronyn in his work was James Spuhler, the temporary ranger in 1939. In June a young Navajo visitor was instructed to remove his initials from the canyon wall next to one of the ruins. Cronyn reported that other initials there would also have to be removed. [210] As the year closed, Cronyn complained of bread wrappers and peach can labels discarded by the Navajos. [211]

Although there was not an actual campground established at Canyon de Chelly by 1939, campers were allowed to choose sites either beside the custodian's residence, near the pumphouse, or out on the rim. The least preferable site was near the pumphouse, Cronyn reported. [212] Apparently work on a permanent site was contemplated, because a Mr. Richey was considering locating it near the pumphouse where shade was afforded by a row of cottonwood trees. Cronyn said that this site was not advisable because Navajos were accustomed to camping there and because the area was subject to floods. Other sites suggested were on top of the hill behind the custodian's residence, in a draw west of the residence, and in a draw east of the residence although this last contained Navajo dwellings. [213]

In August 1940, 537 visitors came to Canyon de Chelly the highest number et recorded. During the entire year there were 2,738 visitations. [214] Temporary Ranger Quintin Bradley aided in erecting directional signs for the area as well as cat and dog signs. In September Cronyn left for Kings Canyon National Park in California. Replacing him was Charles Wyatt, who became the fourth custodian at Canyon de Chelly. [215]

Plans for a multiplex display were laid in April 1941. More directional signs were erected and more visitor contact was possible due to the presence of three rangers and one custodian in July. Wyatt reported the

following minutes of contact time for July: Wyatt 2,060 minutes, Edwin C. Alberts 1,450 minutes, Wesley Hurt 2,560 minutes, and James Spuhler 3,095 minutes. [\[16\]](#)

Many reports were made of wild animals seen in and around Canyon de Chelly. For example, in 1941 several Navajos reported seeing turkeys far up Monument Canyon. Tuly Bia, another Navajo, reported that his dog attacked a badger and was badly hurt. Many badger burrows and tracks were discovered around White House Overlook and the headquarters. [\[17\]](#)

Other animals sighted were skunks in the vicinity of the headquarters and the Thunderbird Ranch; coyotes, whose pelts were said to be used by Navajos in their ceremonies; [\[18\]](#) and two black bears. Chauncey Neboyia, a Navajo, reported that the numerous ground squirrels sighted were very scarce about 15 years ago. [\[19\]](#)

During these years, several articles appeared publicizing Canyon de Chelly. For example, Betty Budlong wrote "Navajo Sand Painting-De Chelly" for Southwestern Monuments, August Supplement, 1935, and Earl H. Morris wrote "Mummy Cave" for Natural History 41-42, 1938.

During the early years of development at Canyon de Chelly (1931-41), many necessary tasks were accomplished, but much additional work remained to be done. As war clouds gathered over Europe and spread to America in 1941, the effects of mobilization were felt at Canyon de Chelly.

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## CHAPTER 4:

### EARLY DEVELOPMENT, 1931-1941 (continued)

#### Concessions

The Thunderbird Ranch handled special trips as well as lodging for visitors who came to Canyon de Chelly. In October 1932 Leon H. (Cozy) McSparron bought out his partner, Hartley T. Seymour, and became sole owner of the Thunderbird Ranch. Pinkley believed that McSparron "has some pretty good size [sic] obligations to meet but if he keeps his health he will pull through and I am sure he will work well with us in the development of Canyon de Chelly." [98] On February 28, 1933, McSparron was issued a trading license at Chinle that was good for 1 year starting February 12, 1933. [99]

McSparron also received a Hotel or Camp Permit good for the year 1933. According to article 13 of this permit, which was approved by A. G. Moskey, Acting Associate Director, National Park Service:

13. This operation shall consist of the usual operations conducted in any trading post under the regulations of the United States Indian Office for trading posts located elsewhere on the Navajo Indian Reservation. This permit includes the operation of the Thunderbird Guest Ranch, including the transportation of visitors up the Canyons del Muerto and de Chelly, at rates to be approved by the Director, Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations. "Transportation of visitors" shall include transportation by automobile, saddle horses, teams and wagons, or otherwise, and shall include pack and camping outfits. [100]

Before approving this license, Demaray wanted to know more about the permit and operation. [101] Pinkley answered by stating:

The intent of this first permit is to legalize Mr. McSparron's operations at de Chelly pending proper investigation by Mr. Gable of the exact status of the investment, volume of business, etc. [102]

Pinkley also said that the nominal fee (\$5.00) was to be revised in the future if necessary. He said that McSparron was not making much profit, and

if a heavy fee were levied he would be compelled to pass it on to the Indians. The trading post is very much a part of the Canyon de Chelly picture and it seems to me that we ought not to

hold McSparron up simply because he is there and can't very well get out. When travel develops to the point of bringing him profitable tourist trade, that will be a different story. [103]

Demaray accepted these explanations but called to Pinkley's attention conditions 16 and 17, which were inserted after McSparron agreed to the permit. Demaray asked Pinkley to get McSparron's approval of these new items. [104]

On December 5, 1933, McSparron agreed to the two new conditions:

16. It is understood that the fee stipulated in this permit is not to establish a precedent and will be subject to revision at the time of any further renewal.

17. This permit is accepted by the permittee with the express understanding that it carries no rights of renewal and is issued for temporary use only and may be cancelled at any time in the discretion of the Director of the Office of National Parks, Buildings, and Reservations. [105]

Custodian Budlong commented upon the assistance McSparron extended him at de Chelly during 1934, although later the two men would have a major disagreement. [106] In fact, two visitors to Canyon de Chelly, Dorothy and John Keur, were elated over the hospitality shown them by the McSparrons as well as by the Budlongs. The Keurs were impressed with the trading post and remarked that they were "sure if Cozy hadn't pushed us out of the trading post we would still be looking at his museum of blankets, pottery and paintings." [107]

In 1935, however, McSparron wrote Pinkley and expressed his desire not to renew his concessioner permit because it was too much trouble and there was not enough tourist business to make it worthwhile. [108] Pinkley forwarded the request to the Park Service Director. He linked McSparron's reasons to financial losses as well as to the boundary controversy (discussed in Chapter 3). Pinkley was inclined not to force the issue until the boundary question was settled. [109] Pinkley did however, favor issuing a permit to Camillo Garcia at Canyon de Chelly. [110]

Demaray believed that Pinkley should issue a permit to McSparron because of the services he rendered to Government agencies as well as to visitors. In addition, Demaray stated that

because of doubt which exists as to whether or not his store is actually within the monument area no financial report or franchise fee will be required of him until that question is definitely settled. This decision will enable Mr. McSparron to transport visitors up the canyon and in other ways to retain his official connection with the national parks, but will not impose any undue burdens in the way of preparing reports for the small amount of business transacted. [111]

Charles L. Gable, chief auditor of the Park Service, also believed that McSparron should be issued a permit, especially since Garcia had received one and because such a permit would not require a financial report or

fee. [112] This arrangement was approved by Moskey, and permits for McSparron were issued for 1934 and 1935. [113]

Budlong had heard of the decision earlier and wrote to Pinkley expressing his disapproval. His letter shows clearly the poor state of his relations with McSparron.

Hell's bell! So Cozy gets his permit sans fee, sans statement of financial responsibility, and now must feel more than ever before, that he is a pretty big bug in this rug, and able to do as he blanked pleases, and will have "protection" for all misdemeanors et. al. This damned "intimate connection with the various Government services" is, alas, too true. But unless I am sadly mistaken there is a chance that in another two years we may begin to feel that perhaps neither Soil Erosion Service, Indian Service, nor Mr. McSparron owns Canyon de Chelly National Monument, but that the National Park Service may properly call this Monument its own offspring. . . . And you can be assured of some pothunting, and insufficient protection of this Monument in spite of we two doing our damnest. I've seen too much, and know too much.

. . . . .

This Monument and the Service are too big to be ruled by an individual who is not connected with either, and whose interests in this matter are of a purely personal and monetary nature. . . . [114]

For the year 1935, the following rates were approved for the Thunderbird Ranch:

Rooms, per person, per day	\$3.50
Meals, each	1.00
Horses, per day, each	3.50
Horses, per 1/2 day, each	2.00
Guide service on horseback trips, per day	3.50
Trip by auto to canyon: one to four passengers, per day (or \$5.00 per person for four passengers)	20.00
Five passengers in same car, per day	22.50
Lunches put up for trips, each	.75 [115]

There were, needless to say, several complaints lodged against the Thunderbird Ranch for insufficient service or high prices. John E. Long of Chinle complained of the high cost of tourist accommodations and the limited time allotted for guiding tourists. [116] Another complaint was lodged by Mrs. B. L. Murphy of Globe, Arizona. She thought Canyon de Chelly was a "lovely and wonderful" place but that it should not have such high-priced accommodations at so "unaccommodating" a place as the Thunderbird Ranch. The Murphys did not stay there but did rent horses from the Navajos to go up the canyon. Mrs. Murphy complained that "the saddle I rode was so old it had to be covered with a blanket and the single loop of iron

used as a stirrup chafed my ankle so I was lame for days." [117]

After returning from the ride, the Murphys were refused a meal because they did not have a room at the Thunderbird Ranch. She stated that the Park Service was kind enough to take them to the Indian School mess hall for dinner. In closing her letter, she again noted that they were not disappointed with the canyon but with the poor accommodations. [118] Other complaints by individuals centered around the Thunderbird's refusal to serve them even though they had rooms there and the high cost of automobile travel up the canyon. [119] Nevertheless, McSparron was granted another permit for the 1936 season. [120]

During the same year relations between Budlong and McSparron became strained. A report on this tension was brought to Arno B. Cammerer in June 1936 by a Mrs. James A. Vaughan of Minnesota. She reported that Cozy was not permitted to take parties into the canyon for overnight camping. Apparently Cozy had done this formerly and had also taken parties into the canyon early in the morning both activities now prohibited by Budlong. [121] Cammerer said that he checked the regulations and Budlong was correct in his restrictions, but Cammerer questioned whether Budlong possessed the diplomacy requisite for his position. He was not impressed with Budlong, thinking him "too stiff and unflexible in demeanor." Cammerer felt that Budlong would be a good man to work under the leadership of another, "but not as our main representative who has to get along not only with visitors but also with the operators." Cammerer quickly asserted that his sentiments did not mean that he wanted McSparron to run the canyon. [122]

He advised Pinkley to try to settle the matter quickly because rumors of discord at de Chelly had already issued from various other sources. Cammerer felt that because McSparron had previously been conducting these trips now in dispute, he should be exempted from the regulations; more importantly, Cammerer suggested that Budlong be transferred. Cammerer said that he liked Budlong's wife and was a close friend of Budlong's father, with whom he had discussed the problem and who said he would talk to his son. [123]

Demaray favored Cammerer's recommendation to exempt McSparron from the regulations. [124] Pinkley concurred in this, and it was approved by Charles West, Acting Secretary of Interior. [125] In addition, Budlong was transferred, and Johnwill Faris became the new custodian on December 1, 1936. [126]

In 1936 McSparron received his permit for that year. The rate schedule for the Thunderbird Ranch was the same as mentioned above. [127] Later on in 1937 McSparron received permission to siphon water from the Park Service water system for the Thunderbird Ranch. His windmill with its stock tank and pump, which was objectionable to the landscape's beauty, might then be dismantled. McSparron received a special use permit which cost \$5.00 for the first 120,000 gallons used during the year and an additional .50 per 1,000 gallons in excess of this amount. [128]

In 1938 Cozy tried to have the Park Service build new structures for him, as had been done for the concessioner at Bandelier National Monument. Hugh Miller, assistant superintendent for Southwestern Monuments, explained that due to the uncertainty of the boundary and the lack of a Civilian Conservation Corps camp at de Chelly the proposal was not feasible, at least at that time. One comment is of particular interest:

In the meantime we do not think Cozy should be too self-conscious about his development. We all like the old trading post and think it gives real color to the foreground at de Chelly. [\[129\]](#)

In 1940 Custodian Ted Cronyn reported that Roman Hubbell of Gallup was planning to conduct tours up the canyon in competition with McSparron. Cronyn opposed this new operation and requested advice on how to handle the matter. [\[130\]](#) He was informed that Hubbell must apply for a permit to operate a commercial tour service of this sort, but that general policy was to disapprove applications to provide services already available. [\[131\]](#) Cronyn informed Hubbell of this requirement, [\[132\]](#) but because no more appears regarding this matter, evidently McSparron remained without a competitor.

By 1941, Cozy was reporting the best season ever at the Thunderbird Ranch. [\[133\]](#) He also acquired a contract for electricity. [\[134\]](#) Prior to this, he had installed a 10-kilowatt generating unit that put out a 60-cycle, 110-volt, alternating current. This and the electric contract vastly improved the Thunderbird's services, enabling McSparron, for example, to install a frozen food unit and an ice cream counter. [\[135\]](#)

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## CHAPTER 9: THE RETURN OF GUILLET, 1963-1966 (continued)

A major advance in 1964 was the completion of the new visitor center in June. [156] This was barely in time to keep pace with the increasing visitation and the work load it imposed on a small staff. According to a report submitted in August:

we are now operating a new Visitor Center, serving over twice as many visitors as last year and doing it with no increase in seasonal graded personnel and one less ungraded position. To do this it is necessary to schedule tours of duty with a minimum of overlap and require unlimited contributed overtime. We are fortunate to have a staff loyal and interested enough to contribute this uncompensated time. This will not last ofrever [sic] and services, etc. will out of necessity have to decrease. [157]

The exhibits had been designed, and only a little work remained on assembling a few additional items for inclusion in the displays before they were ready to install. Loans of specimens were arranged from the Arizona State Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, the University of Colorado, and The Kit Carson Memorial Foundation. What were assumed to be the final photographs were sent to San Francisco in May. [158] In July Guillet was asked to obtain specimens of Navajo jewelry for the exhibit on Navajo crafts. It was suggested that he try to get these from the tribe as donations or at reduced prices since their use would be of advertising value to the Navajos. [159] Whether he succeeded in this is not recorded, but additional requests for photographs required more shipments of pictures in July and August. [160] By September 10 the exhibits were almost complete and the monument was sent exhibit record forms detailing the cleaning and maintenance that they would require. [161] The exhibits themselves arrived at the end of the month, and on October 14 Exhibit Specialists Clair Younkin and Reginald Butcher arrived to install them. [162] Installation of displays at some of the overlooks along the canyon added to the interpretive facilities that did not require personal services, while new slide talks were prepared for evening use at the campground. [163]

While Navajo contributions to the planning and development of the expanded interpretive program may have remained somewhat limited, the number of tribal members who were recipients of these services was increasing markedly. The extent to which adult tribesmen availed themselves of these opportunities is difficult to judge, although it is apparent that Guillet did not ignore them in his visitation figures as had some of the early custodians. Children as members of school classes and other organized groups received special mention in reports of interpretive activities, however, and a large proportion of these were all or largely Navajo. In May, a prime month for school visits, a special tour was given to 27 students from the

Chinle Public Elementary School, and other groups included 21 students and teachers from a Seventh Day Adventist Mission School, 32 students and teachers from the Pinon Public Elementary School, 28 students from the Tohatchi Public Elementary School, 30 students from the Ganado Elementary School, and another 120 students in two groups from the Chinle Public Elementary School. [164] The monument had clearly become important because of its educational potential within Navajo country. This developing new role for the monument was receiving recognition and would be taken into account in future interpretive planning to a greater degree. Regional Director Daniel B. Beard wrote the Director:

As you know, the scope of the interpretive program was expanded because Navajos from all over the reservation take considerable interest in this area as an historic site of importance in their Tribal history.

The nature and size of the collections might change considerably from time to time. Audiovisual programs should be well done and must be bilingual. [165]

Toward the end of the year a new procedure was instituted for Guillet's reports on Navajo affairs. All correspondence of any sort relating to this subject sent to the regional office was also to be sent to the Director. Special reports were to be made also on certain subjects, which would then be handled only summarily in the monthly reports. [166] The importance of Guillet's work, affecting directly or indirectly at least nine Park Service areas, had thus given him direct access to the very top levels of administration in virtually any situation that he might consider significant in its relation to tribal matters.

In 1965 Guillet devoted much of his time to implementing the policies he had worked out during the preceding 2 years. The massive increase in visitation and the undersized staff hampered further innovation, but significant gains were made along the lines already laid out.

Continued political turmoil at Window Rock prevented any real accomplishments on the tribal level, but the major efforts were still directed toward matters in local Navajo relations. [167]

The hiring of Navajo personnel continued to be an important goal, but received a minor setback early in the year when Helen Draper, hired as clerk-typist in a career-conditional position, resigned. [168] Navajos filled all laborer and truck driver positions, however, and the seasonal ranger positions were taken by Clarence Gorman, who returned in May, and Larry Dennison, who was hired in June. [169] James Ashike also served as a seasonal ranger, but available sources do not document the date of his hiring. [170] Gorman stayed on until October 23, was rehired as a laborer the next day, and was promoted to Foreman I and given career-conditional status on November 21. [171]

The contracting of construction and soil and moisture jobs that did not require special equipment to local Navajos was also continued. On June 1 five contracts of this sort were let; one for the planting of 15,000 seedlings and 5,000 willow cuttings; two others for the building of spider jetties at the del Muerto crossing and at headquarters; one for painting a comfort station; and the fifth for spraying to control insect infestation. [172]

Of special value during the summer were the 16 Navajo students hired under the Neighborhood Youth Corps program. [173] A winter program of the same sort allowed the monument to put 9 students to work in October. [174]

Even with this extra help, the level of visitation required more time for visitor services and patrol than the available staff could afford. During the summer a ranger was stationed at Tsaile Lake to control entry from the upper end of Canyon del Muerto. In this the support of the Tsaile Chapter was obtained by Cook, who attended one of their meetings and explained the problem. His talk was applauded by the chapter members and they passed unanimously a resolution asking the Park Service to establish a ranger station at the lake. [175] His job was made especially difficult because many people did not realize that this was part of the monument and questioned his authority over it. [176] One particular case, in which Chief Ranger Wallace himself took part, was important because it raised the question of jurisdiction. While on routine patrol at the lake he was told by local Navajos that non-Indians had gone down the canyon. He proceeded down the stream and found four men fishing from 1 to 1-1/2 miles below the dam. One of the men was Freeman Tabor of the Bureau of Sports Fisheries. Tabor had helped stock the fish and strongly resented being told that they should not fish there. Wallace handled the situation as diplomatically as possible, explaining the Service's duty to protect the ruins and pointing out a ruin nearby when the fisherman doubted that there were any that far up the canyon. Although Wallace was able to leave them on friendly terms, he wrote a detailed report of the incident. [177] Guillet had signs posted in the area and reported the problem to the regional office. [178]

George W. Miller, acting regional director, wrote the Bureau of Sports Fisheries office in Albuquerque in an effort to settle the matter. [179] A meeting was held by Guillet with Bureau of Sports Fisheries officials on July 27, and an agreement was reached that ensured Park Service control of entry into the canyon. [180] Fishing was allowed for a half mile below the dam, at which point signs and a fence were erected. The tribal Parks and Recreation Department and the National Park Service issued a joint press release explaining the rules and regulations applying at Tsaile. [181]

Various innovations were tried in an attempt to control the increase in unauthorized canyon entries. Among these were horseback patrols and occasional checks by airplane. [182] Funds did not permit the purchase of horses, but rental was possible, and some of the Navajo rangers were willing to contribute their horses. [183] High water frequently curtailed patrol in the canyon bottom during the year, but even under these adverse conditions there were unauthorized entries into the canyons. [184] On January 31 a party of Public Health Service employees illegally drove a sand buggy as far as First Ruin before getting stuck. By the time the incident was reported the water was too high to allow the Park Service power wagon to reach it, and by February 2 the sand buggy had disappeared below the sand. [185] Another party drove a jeep down the foot trail to the Spider Rock Overlook and a rock barricade had to be erected to prevent further vehicular traffic there. [186] Continuing wet weather meant only foot patrols could check the canyon bottom. [187] Vandalism in the more remote areas included the removal of the Spider Rock sign, which caused some visitors to end up at Three Turkey House when trying to find the overlook. [188] By June the canyons were dry enough to be entered, but the danger of becoming stuck was great. Several parties that entered the canyons without permits were escorted out by ranger patrols as travel increased and were all given lectures by the chief ranger. [189]

A particularly touchy case of vandalism was the removal of skulls from two Navajo burials by visitors. The rangers were able to recover them and they were returned to the graves, which were reburied with soil and rock. [190]

Heavy use of the campground required increased patrol in that area also. Increased Navajo use of alcoholic beverages caused some problems, most of which were handled through cooperation with the tribal police. [191] Evening patrols of the campground and headquarters areas were begun in February because of vandalism and disturbances. [192] A rodeo on Memorial Day weekend filled the campground to capacity and extra patrols were required. A special picnic ground for Navajo visitors was set up to help take some of the load off the main campground. [193] The annual Chinle Rodeo was held the end of July and again the campground, having the only public restrooms in town, received heavy use. Maintenance of the facilities was an especially difficult job under the circumstances, and Guillet commented that "we received both compliments and complaints regarding the condition of the restrooms." [194]

The increasing number of problems led to a series of meetings between Wallace and the Navajo Tribal Police. They were able to work out better communications and a coordination of activities that increased mutual assistance. [195] Visitation remained heavy well into the fall and required time that was normally scheduled for post-season maintenance work. [196] Vandalism by both Indian and non-Indian youths became so bad in the campground and headquarters areas that rangers were asked to do night patrol on contributed time. [197] While earlier problems of vandalism might have been a reflection of the general condition of Park Service-Navajo relations in the area, at this time relations with the local people were good, suggesting that the problems encountered were probably more a result of broader white-Navajo conflicts and of the stresses brought on by the increasing urbanization of the Chinle community. The unceasing political factionalism in tribal affairs and the influence of the civil rights movement had both contributed to a growing strain on white-Navajo relations throughout the reservation. Guillet's attention to local rapport had not failed because of these conditions, but his job was made more difficult.

Assistance to Navajo residents of the canyons remained a matter of high priority and involved the usual types of emergency aid. The wet year brought an unusual number of requests to help stuck vehicles, both in the canyons and at the del Muerto crossing, which was repeatedly washed out, repaired, and again washed out. Figures reported of cars and trucks rescued combine those of visitors, Navajos, and governmental agencies, but the numbers are high for the year, with calls for help being answered at all times of the day and night. [198] In April alone 145 vehicles required help at the del Muerto crossing. [199] Rescue efforts were even required for a team and wagon and for a horse caught in quicksand. [200] In one case a Navajo child was asphyxiated in a partially submerged vehicle at the del Muerto crossing and had to be hurried to the Public Health Service Clinic where he was successfully treated. [201] In October the contract for the bridge at the del Muerto crossing was awarded and the only possible solution to the problems there was at last in sight. [202] Work began on November 5 and by the end of the year the bridge was reportedly 21 percent completed. [203]

Miscellaneous emergency assistance included the rescue, with slings and ropes, of 22 goats that had been chased over the cliff by predators. [204]

Not all Navajo-related duties were so conducive to good will. In November it was necessary to have a discussion with a Navajo stockman who had cut the fence at Tsaile to take his sheep through. He agreed not to repeat the offense. [205]

An earlier problem, in April, was that of securing a right of way through the customary use area of Ahghinanabah Hunter in order to make improvements on the south entry road. [206] She was willing to grant this, but did impose conditions in return:

The National Park Service agrees to replace and/or relocate any existing fences which might be disturbed by or for construction purposes. Said fences to be sheep-proof in construction.

It is further agreed that the National Park Service will construct an underpass suitable for vehicle and stock passage between Points PT20+78.35 and PI-19+02.48. This underpass shall be so constructed as not to divert surface water into existing farm plots but to follow the same general runoff pattern now established. [207]

No difficulty was encountered in negotiating the agreement. [208]

The interpretive program underwent some changes during the year, but gains were probably offset somewhat by losses. A new campfire circle was designed, but no work accomplished in its construction, while the audio-visual room in the visitor center was converted for use as a library and workspace for the archeologist. [209] With the heavy work load for the limited staff and the loss of Stewart, who was replaced as archeologist by a man (Robert Nichols) with no experience in the interpretive field, the organizational system had to be changed to permit greater flexibility in work assignments and to give the chief ranger some administrative responsibility for the interpretive work. [210] Work continued on new wayside exhibits and on a revision of the White House Trail guide booklet, but the demand for interpretive services soon left little time for the development of new materials. [211] By March all uniformed personnel and the clerk-typist were taking turns at the information desk, and in April only the use of contributed time allowed the personnel to keep up with the job. [212] By June the addition of seasonal help had permitted programs in the campground and the audio visual room, [213] and in July the presence of Neighborhood Youth Corps students made possible additional services, including conducted tours at White House. [214] Even so there was not time to keep up with development of interpretive facilities. The old wayside exhibits at White House Overlook had reached such a state of disrepair in August that they had to be removed, but completion of the planned replacements had not been possible. [215] The departure of the seasonals in the fall was a great loss, because there was little decrease in tourist visitation. [216]

Navajo use of interpretive services again is possible to document only in relation to school groups, but in this category it at least continued high. [217] By participation in the tribal fair Guillet again took his interpretive program to the Navajos. [218]

Research activities were relatively great compared to many other years, despite the limitations locally. A part of these were not Service-connected but were done by workers from other institutions who made some

use of Service facilities. In August Minor Van Arsdale and Peter Snyder of the University of Colorado visited the monument while doing a study of Navajo relocation. [219] In October Dr. Mary Shepardson was in the area doing work on Navajo law. [220] Park Service research was primarily of a sort that did not require the work time of area personnel. Sallie Van Valkenburgh spent two periods at the monument from the middle of June until the beginning of August and from about October 19 into November doing further field research for her study of Navajo mythology, oral history, and geography. [221]

Archeology also received attention. Archeological clearances were provided by monument personnel as requested for tribal, Bureau, and other construction projects, often by non-archeologists, however. [222] Nichols, the new archeologist, was very interested in research and devoted considerable contributed time to field surveys besides cooperating with other archeologists interested in problems at Canyon de Chelly. [223]

Four publications during the year were contributions to the interpretive program. Guillet did an article for the National Parks Magazine entitled "Nature and Man in Canyon de Chelly," which appeared in the July 1965 issue. The October issue of Arizona Highways featured the canyon and stimulated fall visitation. [224] Another was a tour guide, Land of the Navajo, by Bob Bradshaw, which gave special emphasis to Canyon de Chelly and Monument Valley. [225] A booklet, Canyon de Chelly National Monument, by Charles Suplee and Douglas and Barbara Anderson of Ganado, was published in March and became an important sales item at the monument. [226]

With increased visitation came greater use of the concessioner's facilities, which were not equipped for this volume of business. By the end of the summer Guillet had to report that

Complaints regarding the concessioner have begun to come in, two written and several verbal, all necessitating considerable time and effort to handle.

Unless attitudes change it is becoming apparent that this concessioner is not geared to handle the continuing increased visitor load. Despite our best and strongest efforts we are not too optimistic as regards curtailment of similar complaints. [227]

The concessioner was given permission to close his cafe from November 1 to May 1. Due to the high volume of business, it was suggested that his rates might be reduced when next reviewed. [228]

The precise month that a special use permit was first issued to a Navajo for renting horses does not seem to be noted in the documents the authors have searched. The earliest record found dates from March 1965. [229] A second permit was issued in April for horse rental at Tsaile. [230] Both required tribal approval, but did not preclude horse rental by any other Navajo who might wish to engage in this business. [231]

Relations at the tribal level seemed to show some improvement early in the year. Agreements with the Navajo Tribal Utility Authority on natural gas were made with little difficulty. [232] Guillet was even asked to help organize a tribal conference on recreation and tourism and served as a judge in the annual Miss Navajo competition. [233] Tribal officials also participated in Park Service projects. A special evening

program at the monument for a visiting group of trainees from the Albright Training Center in September featured not only tribal rangers, but other tribal employees and Bureau personnel as well. [234] In December the program was repeated. [235] Tribal personnel were assigned to work as trainees in maintenance at the monument in November. [236] Little of this activity had much effect on the council or higher administrative levels at Window Rock, but Guillet's patient work was to have a significant influence within a few months time.

Guillet's last year at Canyon de Chelly ended in August 1966. There were no new major innovations in his program to better Park Service relations with the Navajos; if anything, there was some relaxing in the intensity of these efforts. Why this should be so is not entirely clear, but the answer can perhaps be found in a lessening of the strong support his policies were receiving at higher administrative levels. The most obvious aspect of this is seen in personnel matters.

The work load increased markedly. Visitation through the end of July was 49 percent above that of the previous year. [237] However, there was no increase in personnel, but instead, due to temporary assignments elsewhere, there was frequently a lack of personnel in already established positions. Cook was made superintendent of the new Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site on January 2, and in April Administrative Assistant Tom Cullison was transferred to Sequoia-Kings National Park. [238] In the latter month Nichols was sent for training to Mather Training Center. Guillet tried to look on the bright side as he summed up the discouraging situation at the end of April:

with a travel increase of over 80% and only two-fifths of the former years['] staff. We have had to utilize the services of laborers, maintenance man, clerk-typist and donated overtime and days off, but we are making it.

The use of the Neighborhood Youth Corps helped, but programs still suffered especially the one dealing with Navajo affairs. Guillet could not take on any new local activities in this field and had to cancel some that he had scheduled. [239] Efforts beyond the local scene were even temporarily abandoned during May. [240] But some relief was in sight. Nichols returned the same month and a new administrative assistant, William J. Weaver, Jr., reported for duty on May 23. [241] The assistant superintendent position remained unfilled, however, and this was the job that had been especially created in order to give Guillet the extra time his work with the Navajos would require.

Contrary to previous policy, most of the seasonal positions were filled with non-Navajos. [242] Failure to find qualified Navajo applicants for these positions was probably due to the lack of time available for recruiting efforts.

The level of interpretive services remained high, because first priority was given to this essential duty. Interpretive contacts with Navajos, at least with schoolchildren, were numerous, reaching such a point that Guillet commented upon the trend in the "Indian Relations" section of his monthly report for April. [243] An important addition to the interpretive program was the institution of the Tunnel Trail guided tours. [244]

Problems of illegal entries and vandalism grew as visitation increased and as difficulties in scheduling

patrols arose because of the demands of other duties, although it was seldom the tourists who were the guilty parties. There were six cases of illegal entries in April, all by local residents who knew of the restrictions on canyon travel, and in one case employees of the local public school were involved. [245] A number of these trespass cases the following month involved penetration of the ruins. [246] Intensified patrol after the seasonal rangers arrived in June and their good luck in being at the right place at the right time served to temporarily curb this activity, but some damage was reported at White House before a Youth Corps trainee could be stationed there. [247] Unauthorized entries continued into the next month. [248] By August, even though 11 parties had been found by rangers and escorted from the canyons, there had been one incident of unknown persons defacing rocks and walls at First Ruin and the first reports of pothunting since Guillet had returned to the canyons. Unidentified visitors had dug under the walls and into the trash mound at Antelope House, using their hands and sticks from nearby trees. [249] The date of this last incident has not been pinpointed precisely and may well have taken place after Guillet's departure, but is a not unexpected culmination of the situation developing as a result of an overworked staff.

The pothunting was obviously of a minor and unpremeditated nature. The increasing illegal entries were a cause for concern to the Navajos as well. Guillet commented on this aspect succinctly:

Our explanation to the Navajo people as to why we do not have enough Rangers to adequately patrol all the features as well as their privacy is not satisfactory to them. With the increase in Visitors there is no doubt that there will be an increase in illegal entries and embarrassing incidents involving the Navajo people who reside within the Monument. If this situation continues we could very well take a backward step in our Navajo Public Relations. [250]

There were some problems in law enforcement involving Navajo violators, particularly with regard to drinking, but all such matters were referred to the Navajo police to be handled by the tribal courts. [251]

Vandalism in the campground and at the overlooks grew in seriousness during the summer. In June the exhibits at the overlooks had to be removed, and loitering at the campground by local young people was noted as a problem. [252] By July the matter was viewed with real concern:

a night patrol has become necessary due to an outbreak of vandalism and disturbances by local young people. There were 14 nights during the month when acts of vandalism and disturbances occurred. Traffic control signs were destroyed, trash receptacles [sic] thrown over the cliffs, eggs thrown at Government residences and vehicles. Motor scooters in the campgrounds during the late evening and at night operated by local youths necessitated closing the campgrounds to all persons not camping after 9:00 p.m. All local youths have been informed that the campgrounds are restricted to camping and picnicking [sic] only.

All of the incidents mentioned were caused by non-Indian teenage children whose parents are either teachers or BIA employees.

The lack of a United States Commissioner or court makes it almost impossible to arrest these persons for minor violations. The Navajo Police have detailed a unit to our area to assist in

law enforcement, however, they are restricted in their jurisdiction over non-Indians. [253]

Enforcement of a curfew and additional night patrol work by rangers and tribal police managed to alleviate the situation somewhat in August. [254]

Cooperation with the Navajo police extended to allowing the local police to use the visitor center for a 2-day meeting when they were unable to locate any other building in Chinle large enough for the affair. [255]

The contractor building the bridge kept the del Muerto crossing in good condition most of the time and the need to rescue vehicles there diminished. April, usually a bad month at the crossing because of runoff from the mountains, passed without having to close the area, "for the first time in history," according to Guillet. [256] By the end of June the bridge was reported 100 percent complete. [257] Guillet now had something concrete that he could mention as a Park Service contribution serving the entire community.

Lesser projects that were intended to aid the canyon residents included an insect spraying program. Preparations were begun as early as March at the first signs that insect damage might be expected. [258] It was necessary to work out cooperative plans with the Bureau, however, and so spraying did not begin until after May 12, when grasshopper damage to Navajo crops was already extensive. [259] Most crops were lost and even some peach trees suffered. The erosion control plantings were saved, but not without some loss. [260]

Guillet's greatest contribution was not the bridge nor the various types of emergency aid given canyon residents, nor even the filling of more positions with Navajos, although all of these contributed to his success. He was able to create a mutual feeling of good will that was felt even at the tribal level in the last months of his tenure at the monument. On behalf of the Park Service he had long been involved in negotiations with the tribe concerning planned recreational development at Lake Powell. This story does not directly concern Canyon de Chelly, and so has not been covered here. Attempts to resolve conflicting interests in the Lake Powell area had, however, met a snag when a white director of the Navajo Tribal Parks and Recreation Department, Frank Carson, tried to arouse general tribal opposition to the National Park Service in the highly charged political atmosphere at Window Rock, apparently to advance his own interests politically. Carson failed to get the full support of even his own department, however, and his failure was perhaps most dramatically evidenced by the appearance of the tribal chairman as a speaker at the dedication of the new visitor center at Navajo National Monument. [261] Carson tried to arouse a new movement on the part of the tribe to take over Canyon de Chelly. Even after Guillet's transfer, the good relations that he had developed were a legacy to John Cook, who replaced him, and were to prevent the monument from becoming a political football. Cook's first monthly report as superintendent of Canyon de Chelly paid well-earned tribute to Guillet's work:

The Guillet's [sic] departure caused considerable concern with the local Navajo people as they felt the National Park Service would revert to regular assignment procedured [sic] in staffing Canyon de Chelly resulting in someone not compatable [sic] with its uniqueness. The assignment of John Cook as Acting Superintendent has helped reduce these concerns considerable [sic].

Through the continued efforts of the area staff plus the aforementioned continuity of administration local or "grass roots" relations remain excellent.

. . . . .

Dr. Handlin mentions a "cry" over Canyon de Chelly for its return to the Navajo Tribe. Such a move would meet resistance on the local level here right now. If we loose [sic] our position of trust, reestablished through Mr. Guillet's activities, the move might fare differently overnight. In any event any "cry" in this regard is currently a one man affair. . . .

Meredith Guillet's success as superintendent at Canyon de Chelly can perhaps best be attested to by noting that the only serious public relations problems at Canyon de Chelly when he left were not with Navajos but with non-Indians.

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# Canyon de Chelly

## Administrative History



## CHAPTER 4:

### EARLY DEVELOPMENT, 1931-1941 (continued)

#### Erosion Control and Protection

Erosion control and overall protection of the ruins and physical environment have always been a major concern in the development and growth of Canyon de Chelly National Monument. The work that Morris did at White House has already been discussed. Recommendations made by the Hamilton Reconnaissance Report in 1932 indicated that several of the ruins, especially Antelope House and White House, were in need of repairs due to wash erosion during previous flood periods. The estimates for repair work at Antelope and White houses were \$1,350 and \$600 respectively. [136]

Hamilton also advised the use of fencing and other protective devices. "Navajo farms," Hamilton believed, "should be protected by breakwaters when needed," and he suggested building several diversion dams. [137]

Commenting on this report, Demaray stated that "some definite steps should be taken in the very near future to put in the erosion protection recommended by Engineer Hamilton." [138] Furthermore, he believed that all Indian workers should be supervised by a white foreman. [139] John Merriam also concurred with Hamilton's recommendations. "The plans for protection of the ruins," stated Merriam, "interest me greatly. Everything possible must be done to protect the ruins and at the same time to maintain naturalness of the region." [140]

Work was also done in 1932 by Park Service Naturalist McKee whose study of the formations at Canyon del Muerto was being financed by Merriam of the Carnegie Institute. [141] McKee studied the Coconino formation at del Muerto and reported on sandstone formations at del Muerto and de Chelly. [142]

Erosion control was a main subject of the meeting held at Canyon de Chelly in April 1934. The group advised against using basket dams or rock revetments because of their tendency to settle into riverbeds. They advised using woven wire fences with cottonwood posts and "a liberal amount of bush to facilitate silting up back of the fence." Two double lines of fences were considered necessary to protect planted vegetation against grazing sheep and goats. [143] Between the fences willows, cottonwood trees, grasses, and other native growth were to be planted in order to "make a permanent barrier which will not only prevent erosion, but will also cause a natural deposition of silt back of the barrier, thus reclaiming a large farm area." [144]

A survey of the existing vegetation in Canyon de Chelly indicated the following: box elder, cottonwood, willow, gooseberry, greasewood, apple trees, wild olive, hackberry, and walnut willows. Again it was suggested that this work be done by Indians under the direction of a white foreman. [145] On April 28, 1934, the Navajos at Canyon de Chelly approved projects to improve their "park." [146] No opposition was expected from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. [147]

Chief Engineer Kittredge was concerned, however, about the areas between the two fences. Because most of it (about 50 feet) was sand, he felt the Indians would not complain about grazing rights being taken from them. [148] The Soil Erosion Service decided against the double fence idea and decided to have the Indians remove their stock from the canyon for 3 years. [149]

Kittredge took issue with this plan. He believed that 3 years or even 10 years might not be enough time to provide a better grazing area. The Indians would be justified, believed Kittredge, in complaining about broken promises and this would be extremely embarrassing. [150] He concluded that

the whole problem of protection of the river banks against over-grazing is so easily and simply handled by the placing of the vegetation between fences that I can see no reason for laying ourselves open to broken promises and loss of confidence in us by the Indians by trying to make promises covering problems regarding which we have no surety. A fifty-foot strip of vegetation between fences and fully protected and encouraged by the use of Indian labor will be an example of what can be accomplished. It should have a far reaching influence upon the further development of the Indians' private holdings, and one which will encourage among the Indians the spirit of protection and restoration. [151]

This dispute over jurisdiction stemmed from the fact that the Park Service wanted erosion work financed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, because they, not the Park Service, controlled the land. H. G. Calkins, Regional Director of the Soil Erosion Service, finally recognized that the Park Service was to control the work in the canyon, but only on this job. Future work would require a restatement of authority. [152] The controversy seemed to continue, as evidenced by letters sent by Commissioner Collier stressing hopes for the Soil Erosion Service's "taking over" erosion work at de Chelly. [153] Kittredge restated that the Park Service should be the controlling organization within a Park Service area. [154] It was then suggested that the solicitor's opinion on the matter be requested, but this was rejected because the Soil Erosion Service was "working under direct instructions from Assistant Secretary Chapman to continue their work within the National Monument without regard to the National Park Service except where their protection work is in the immediate vicinity of Ruins when they shall secure the advance approval of the National Park Service to this work." [155]

The plan for a double fence never materialized, but the Erosion Service plan of having the Indians relinquish grazing rights for 3 years did. Kittredge's fears that this would not be enough time for revegetation were realized, so the Erosion Service devised two new plans of action: he first was to use a double fence; the second involved persuading the Navajos to completely abandon grazing in Canyon de Chelly and converting it into "strictly a farming area." [156] Kittredge, delighted that the Erosion Service finally saw the need for double fencing, supported both plans. He still feared that the Park Service would appear in a bad light

because of the Erosion Service's promise to the Indians and suggested that the Navajos be allowed to return their stock to the valley immediately "in order to maintain our standing with the Indians." [157]

Pinkley supported both the farming plan and the double fencing plan, stating that "the ideal solution of the problem would be to exclude grazing from the canyon permanently and restrict it to farming operations." [158] Pinkley felt, however, that the Park Service would be considered the culprits by the Navajos even though "the Park Service is not responsible for any action taken by the Soil Conservation Service." Thus, he suggested that the double fencing be utilized to solve the problem. [159]

In 1936 another problem arose concerning the introduction of exotic plants into the canyon a violation of Park Service regulations. The Erosion Service planted Australian tamarisks, willows, and cottonwoods, and the Indian Service was selling fruit trees (apple, plum, and peach) to the Indians. Other plantings included grapevines, Chinese elms, and mulberry trees. Pinkley was concerned about the original terms of the proclamation, which declared that "Navajo occupation was not to be disturbed." [160] He was worried that a "serious conflict would result if this office were asked to apply the general policy toward exotics to Canyon de Chelly," and hoped that the Park Service Director would "investigate all of the circumstances before taking any action to interfere with the plans of the Indian Service agronomists and the Soil Conservation experts in the de Chelly area." [161]

Replying to Pinkley's request, Demaray stated that the planting of fruit trees by the Navajos was well within their rights. Furthermore, Demaray said

common sense dictates that there should be no interference in the plan to furnish better environment for the Indians, even though it happens to violate a rule which has been found valuable in most park and monument areas. [162]

Another conflict in Park Service rules arose over poisoning of rodents and grasshoppers. The Navajos requested that this protection be offered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and were impatient at the delay because many Navajos had begun farming activities. Budlong advised that the Park Service sanction this program even though it violated Service rules. [163]

Pinkley agreed with Budlong and suggested that no action be taken to prevent this work. He believed that

our policy at Canyon de Chelly National Monument is that we are there to protect the ruins and guard and guide visitors, and for no other purpose. We have turned over the problems of handling the Indians, their farming operations, and their stock operations to the Navajo Service. [164]

This decision of the Park Service not to interfere with planting or poisoning, even though it violated their rules, was followed. The only reported loss of stock was a Navajo's team of horses, who had been fed poisoned grain by a son who had been away and did not know that the grain was poisoned. The Park Service, of course, was not responsible for this loss. [165]

On April 10, 1937, a "Cooperative Agreement Between The Director of The National Park Service and The Commissioner of Indian Affairs For The Prevention and Suppression of Fires Occurring Along The Boundaries of Adjoining Indian Reservations and National Parks" was approved. It contained thirteen provisions:

1. That the details of cooperation in fire protection between field units will be worked out by officials of the Indian Service and the National Park Service.
2. That field officers taking official action under authority of this agreement will remain under the jurisdiction of their respective Bureaus.
3. That primary control by lookouts for a given area will be provided by the Park Service and the Indian Service as far as possible without regard to boundary lines and Bureau jurisdiction.
4. That primary lookouts maintained by the Indian Service will be furnished with fire-control maps of adjoining national park areas by the National Park Service, and primary lookouts maintained by the Park Service will be furnished with fire-control maps of adjoining Indian Reservations by the Indian Service.
5. The field officers of the Indian Service will be supplied with copies of fire plans and maps of adjoining national parks and will in turn supply National Park officers with copies of fire plans and maps covering adjoining Indian reservations.
6. That telephone or short-wave radio communication will be established between national parks and adjoining Indian reservations.
7. That fires occurring on Indian reservations and discovered by National Park officers will be reported promptly by them to the Indian Service. Forest officers of the Indian Service will take similar action with respect to fires discovered on national parks.
8. That National Park officers will render assistance to Indian Service officers in fire fighting upon request from such officers in all cases where such action will not leave national park lands unduly exposed to fire danger. Officers of the Indian Service will reciprocate in like manner. All facilities available will be used where necessary by either or both agencies to suppress fires along the adjacent boundaries. In the event of a fire on the Indian Service side of the boundary the first officer, whether Indian Service or Park Service, to reach the fire will take charge. Should a Park Service officer take charge, he will be relieved by an Indian Service officer as soon as the Indian Service is in a position to take over the fire. The same system will apply in case of a fire on the Park Service side of the boundary with the Indian Service officer turning the fire over to the Park Service as soon as the Park Service is in a position to take charge of the fire.
9. That the National Park Service will reimburse the Indian Service for all expenses incurred in extinguishing fires occurring or existing on lands under the protection of the National Park Service. The Indian Service will reimburse the National Park Service for all expenses incurred by the National Park Service in fighting fires outside areas protected by the National Park Service and occurring or existing on Indian lands. In either case, the expense thus incurred shall not exceed \$1,000 prior to turning the control of the fire over to the Service on whose lands the fire is located. Reimbursements will be made under the authority of Section 601 of the Act of June 30, 1932 (47 Stat., 417).
10. That in case of a fire spreading from Indian Service lands into National Park Service lands, or vice versa, all expenses incurred by each agency will be prorated in accordance with the area burned on the lands within the confines of each protection agency. Necessary reimbursements will be made on this basis.
11. That the above agreement does not include reimbursement for the services of the Civilian

Conservation Corps or year-long employees used in combating fires, but does include reimbursement for the services of all seasonal and per diem employees where such services are paid from forest fire fighting funds for the National Park Service or from "Suppression of Forest Fires," "Administration of Indian Forests," or "Expenses, Sale of Timber" funds for the Indian Service. It also includes all other expenses paid from the above-mentioned funds in the process of suppression. All equipment will be assembled and inventoried immediately following each fire and suitable reimbursement made on the basis outlined in the preceding paragraph.

12. That subsidiary field agreements executed under authority hereof between field officers of the National Park Service and the Indian Service shall receive the approval of the Director of the National Park Service and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.
13. That this cooperative agreement shall continue in force and effect until terminated by written notice by either party, provided that the notice of termination of the agreement must be given between the dates of November 1 of any year and April 30 of the following year; and that such termination of agreement shall meet with the approval of the Secretary of Interior. [166]

A few days later, a request for field glasses at de Chelly for use in fire prevention and forest protection was submitted to Pinkley. Pinkley replied that at present he could not supply the request but would try to fulfill the need as the year progressed. [167]

A supplement to the 1937 agreement on fire prevention and suppression was submitted in 1941 by E. Reeseman Fryer, general superintendent of the Navajo Indian Reservation, and Charles D. Wyatt, custodian at de Chelly. It contained five points.

1. That the lookouts and other employees of the Navajo Service shall report any fire on National Monument lands to the Navajo Service Fire Dispatcher at Window Rock, Arizona. Any such fire thus reported to the Dispatcher shall be reported by him as soon as possible to the Monument Custodian. Likewise, fires discovered by National Monument employees, regardless of what lands they may originate on, shall be reported to the Navajo Service Fire Dispatcher.
2. That any fire threatening lands adjacent to the common boundary between Monument and Reservation shall be reported to both the Monument Custodian and the Forest Officer in charge of protection for the Reservation as soon as possible after it becomes evident that adjoining lands are threatened.
3. That initial control action on any fire threatening lands adjacent to the common boundary shall be taken by the Service most likely to reach the fire first. Such fire discovered from the field shall be attacked promptly by the discovering employee.
4. That in the event of fires on Monument lands, not likely to threaten the Reservation, the Navajo Service shall furnish all assistance requested by the Park Service to the extent that such assistance will not unduly expose Reservation forests to fire danger. In the event of Reservation fires not threatening Monument land, the Navajo Service may request supervisory assistance to be furnished to the extent that the Monument is not unduly exposed to fire hazards.
5. That this subsidiary field agreement shall continue in force until terminated. It may be terminated by either party, provided that written notice of termination shall be given between the dates of November 1, of any year and April 30, of the following year, and provided further that such termination shall meet with the approval of the Director of the National Park Service and the

Commissioner of Indian Affairs. [\[168\]](#)

After studying the agreement, D. E. Murphy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs believed that several alterations were necessary. He wanted it clarified that "the specific agreement is drawn pursuant to the general agreement and that the provisions of the general agreement are made a part of the specific agreement." [\[169\]](#) Also, he believed that section 5 had to conform to section 13 of the general agreement and that section 2 should be expressed differently and more precisely. In closing, Murphy stated that "your [Fryer's] further consideration of the agreement with the Custodian for the National Park Service will be appreciated and it is believed will result in a very satisfactory agreement." [\[170\]](#)

As the year 1939 ended, erosion control projects were being discussed for the 1940-41 program at de Chelly. [\[171\]](#) Two erosion projects were begun in 1940, at the mouth of de Chelly and at White House Ruin. [\[172\]](#)

At the mouth of de Chelly preventive measures were taken to keep the canyon's flood waters from reaching the Thunderbird Ranch. [\[173\]](#) At White House, rail posts, steel cable, rail tetrahedrons, and diagonal fences were installed. [\[174\]](#) During the following year, projects included stabilization work at White House and Antelope House and rebuilding of a dike to restrain the Rio de Chelly. [\[175\]](#)

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